This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

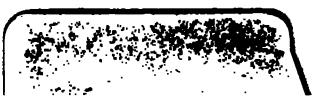
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

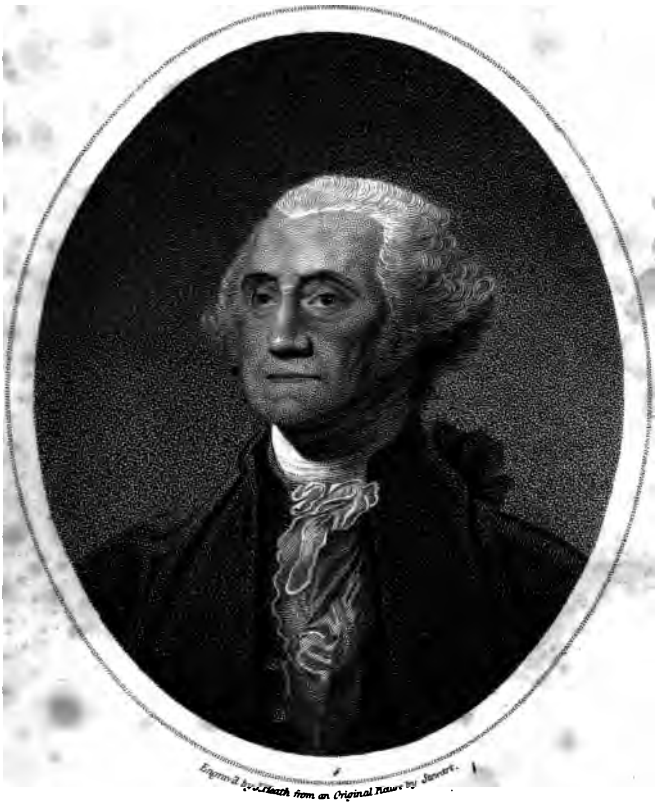
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

ग. 300.1 ग. 2[illegible]9





Engraved by Heath from an Original Picture by Stewart.

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Publish'd Oct.r 10. 1807. by Cadell & Davies, Strand, London.

John Taylor

THE

LIFE

OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES
OF THE UNITED STATES
IN THE WAR WHICH ESTABLISHED THEIR INDEPENDENCE;

AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.

BY

DAVID RAMSAY, M.D.

OF CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA,
MEMBER OF CONGRESS IN 1782, 1783, 1784, & 1785;
AND AUTHOR OF
THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

LONDON:
Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND: AND
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, & ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1807.

233. e. 24.

RHODES HOUSE
OXFORD
LIBRARY

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

TO

EMPERORS,

KINGS,

AND OTHERS,

EXERCISING SOVEREIGN POWER

IN THE

OLD WORLD;

IN HOPES

THAT FROM THE EXAMPLE OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON

IN THE

NEW,

THEY WILL LEARN TO AVOID

WAR,

TO PROMOTE GOODWILL IN THE

FAMILY OF MANKIND,

AND USE ALL THE POWER THEY POSSESS,

FOR THE

PUBLIC GOOD;

THE

FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE

MOST RESPECTFULLY

INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

OF the family and education of George Washington. He is sent on an embassy to the French commandant on the Ohio.—Is appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, and an aid-de-camp to general Braddock.—Braddock's defeat.—Washington is appointed commander in chief of all the forces of Virginia.—His operations in 1755, 1758.—Fort Duquesne taken.—Washington retires, and marries. - - pp. 1—26.

CHAP. II.

CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

A brief retrospect of events introductory to the American revolutionary war.—George Washington is appointed commander in chief of the American forces.—Takes the command of their army before Boston. His operations there in 1775 and 1776.—The evacuation of Boston. - - - - - - - - pp. 27—42.

CHAP. III.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

Operations in and near New York and in New Jersey.—Battle of Long island.—Evacuation of York island.—Retreat into New Jersey.—Battles of Trenton and Princeton. - - - - - - - - - - pp. 43—74.

CHAP. IV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

Operations in new Jersey and Philadelphia.—Battle of Brandywine and Germantown.—Americans retreat to Valley Forge.—Their army in great distress, from the want of necessary supplies. - - - pp. 75—105.

CHAP. V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

Washington makes arrangements for the campaign of 1778.—Crosses the Delaware.—Battle of Monmouth.—Washington sooths the irritation between the French and American officers at Rhode island.—Dissuades from an expedition against Canada. - - - pp. 106—125.

CHAP. VI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

Discontents in the Jersey line composed by Washington.—British invade Connecticut.—Sullivan attacks the six nations of Indians.—General Wayne reduces Stoney Point.—Major Lee surprises Paulus Hook. - pp. 126—143.

CHAP. VII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

General Sullivan invades Staten island.—General Washington gives an opinion against attempting to defend Charleston.—General Kniphausen invades New Jersey.—Washington guards his stores, and also West Point.—French fleet arrives.—The siege of New York proposed.—The arrival of a British fleet deranges all the plans for a combined operation. - pp. 144—163.

CHAP. VIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

The Pennsylvania line mutinies.—The Jersey lines follow their example, but are quelled.—Distresses of the American army.—General Washington commences a military journal.—The British carry on extensive operations in the southern states.—Washington is pressed to repair to the defence of Virginia, but declines.—Reprimands his manager for furnishing supplies to the British army.—Extinguishes a threatened civil war respecting the independence of Vermont.—Projects a plan of combined operations.—Deputes colonel John Laurens to obtain the concurrence of France.—Siege of New York proposed, but exchanged for Yorktown.—Lord Cornwallis, invested by the

French and Americans, is forced to capitulate.—Washington makes preparations for the campaign of 1782. - - - - - - - - - - pp. 164—193.

CHAP. IX.

Washington recommends preparations for another campaign.—Rumours of peace, which are at first doubted, but afterwards are believed.—Discontents in the army.—A meeting of the officers.—Address of Washington to them.—Soldiers from Lancaster mutiny.—The army disbanded.—Washington takes leave of his officers.—Settles his accounts.—Returns his commission to congress, and retires to Mount Vernon. pp. 194—266.

CHAP. X.

General Washington, on retiring rom public life, devotes himself to agricultural pursuits.—Favours inland navigation.—Declines offered emoluments from it.—Urges an alteration of the fundamental rules of the society of the Cincinnati.—Regrets the defects of the federal system, and recommends a revisal of it.—Is appointed a member of the continental convention for that purpose, which, after hesitation, he accepts.—Is chosen president thereof.—Is solicited to accept the presidency of the United States.—Writes sundry letters expressive of the conflict in his mind between duty and inclination.—Answers applicants for offices.—His reluctance to enter on public life. pp. 267—297.

CHAP. XI.

Washington elected president.—On his way to the seat of government at New York, receives the most flattering marks of respect.—Addresses congress.—The situation of the United States in their foreign and domestic relations at the inauguration of Washington.—Fills up public offices solely with a view to the public good.—Proposes a treaty to the Creek Indians, which is at first rejected.—Colonel Willet induces the heads of the nation to come to New York, and treat there.—The north-western Indians refuse a treaty, but, after defeating generals Harmar and Sinclair, they are defeated by general Wayne; they then submit, and agree to treat.—A new system is introduced, for meliorating their condition. - - - pp. 298—322.

CHAP. XII.

General Washington attends to the foreign relations of the United States.—Negotiates with Spain.—Difficulties in the way.—The free navigation of the Mississippi is granted by a treaty made with major Pinckney.—Negotiations with Britain.—Difficulties in the way.—War probable.—Mr. Jay's mission.—His treaty with Great Britain.—Opposition thereto.—Is ratified. Washington refuses papers to house of representatives.—British posts in United States evacuated.—Negotiations with France.—Genet's arrival.—Assumes powers in violation of the neutrality of the United States.—Is flattered by the people, but opposed by the executive.—General Pinckney sent as a public minister to adjust disputes with France.—Is not received.—Washington declines a re-election, and addresses the people.—His last address to the national legislature.—He recommends a navy, a military academy, and other public institutions. pp. 323—389.

CHAP. XIII.

Washington rejoices at the prospect of retiring.—Writes to the secretary of state, denying the authenticity of letters, said to be from him to J. P. Custis and Lund Washington, in 1776.—Pays respect to his successor, Mr. John Adams.—Review of Washington's administration.—He retires to Mount Vernon.—Resumes agricultural pursuits.—Hears with regret the aggressions of the French republic.—Corresponds on the subject of his taking the command of an army to oppose the French.—Is appointed lieutenant-general.—His commission is sent to him by the secretary of war.—His letter to president Adams, on the receipt thereof.—Directs the organisation of the proposed army.—Three envoys extraordinary sent to France, who adjust all disputes with Buonaparte, after the overthrow of the directory.—General Washington dies.—Is honoured by congress.—His character.—pp. 390—430.

APPENDIX; containing the WILL of General Washington - - - - - - - - - - p. 431.

INDEX - - - - - - - - - - pp. 451, &c.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON;

&c.

CHAP. I.

Of the family and education of GEORGE WASHINGTON.—He is sent on an embassy to the French commandant on the Ohio.—Is appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, and an aid-de-camp to general Braddock.—Braddock's defeat.—Washington is appointed commander in chief of all the forces in Virginia.—His operations in 1755—1758.—Fort Duquesne taken.—Washington retires, and marries.

THE ancestors of GEORGE WASHINGTON were among the first settlers of the oldest British colony in America. He was the third in descent from John Washington, an English gentleman, who, about the middle of the 17th century, emigrated from the North of England, and settled in Westmoreland county, Virginia. In the place where he had fixed himself, his great grandson, the subject of the following history, was born on the 22d of February 1732. His immediate ancestor 1732.

was Augustine Washington, who died when his son George was only ten years old. The education of the young orphan, of course, devolved on his mother, who added one to the many examples of virtuous matrons, who, devoting themselves to the care of their children, have trained them up to be distinguished citizens. In one instance, her fears, combining with her affection, prevented a measure, which, if persevered in, would have given a direction to the talents and views of her son very different from that which laid the foundation of his fame. George Washington, when only fifteen years old, solicited and obtained the place of midshipman in the British navy; but his ardent zeal to serve his country, then at war with France and Spain, was, on the interference of his mother, for the present suspended, and for ever diverted from the sea service. She lived to see him attain higher honors than he could have obtained as a naval officer; nor did she depart this life till he was elevated to the first offices, both civil and military, in the gift of his country. She was, nevertheless, so far from being partial to the American revolution, that she frequently regretted the side her son had taken in the contest between her king and her country.

In

In the minority of George Washington, the means of education in America were scanty. His was therefore very little extended beyond what is common, except in mathematics. Knowledge of this kind contributes more perhaps than any other to strengthen the mind. In his case it was doubly useful, for in the early part of his life it laid the foundation of his fortune, by qualifying him for the office of a practical surveyor, at a time when good land was of easy attainment. Its intimate connexion with the military art enabled him at a later period to judge more correctly of the proper means of defending his country.

Of the first nineteen years of George Washington's life, little is known. His talents, being more solid than brilliant, were not sufficiently developed for public notice, by the comparatively unimportant events of that early period. His contemporaries have reported, that in his youth he was grave, silent, and thoughtful, diligent and methodical in business, dignified in his appearance, strictly honorable in all his deportment; but they have not been able to gratify the public curiosity with any striking anecdotes. His patrimonial estate was little, but that little was managed with prudence, and increased

by industry. In the gayest period of his life, he was a stranger to dissipation and riot.

That he had established a solid reputation even in his juvenile years, may be presumed from the following circumstances. At the age of nineteen, he was appointed one of the adjutants general of Virginia, with the rank of major. When he was barely twenty-one, he was employed by the governor of his native colony in an enterprise which required the prudence of age as well as the vigor of youth.

The French, as the first European discoverers of the Mississippi, claimed all that immense region whose waters run into that
1753. river. In pursuance of this claim, in 1753, they took possession of a tract of country, supposed to be within the chartered limits of Virginia, and were proceeding to erect a chain of posts from the lakes of Canada to the river Ohio, in subserviency to their grand scheme of connecting Canada with Louisiana, and limiting the English colonies to the east of the Alleghany mountains.

Mr. Dinwiddie, then governor of Virginia, dispatched Washington with a letter to the French commandant on the Ohio, remonstrating against the prosecution of these designs, as hostile to the rights of his Britannic majesty.

jesty. The young envoy was also instructed to penetrate the designs of the French, to conciliate the affections of the native tribes, and to procure useful intelligence. In the discharge of this trust he set out on the 14th of November, 1753, from Wills creek, then an extreme frontier settlement, and pursued his course through a vast extent of unexplored wilderness, amidst rain and snow, and over rivers of very difficult passage, and among tribes of Indians, several of whom, from previous attentions of the French, were hostile to the English. When his horses were incompetent, he proceeded on foot, with a gun in his hand and a pack on his back. He observed every thing with the eye of a soldier, and particularly designated the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers (the spot where fort Duquesne was afterwards built, and where Pittsburg now stands) as an advantageous position for a fortress.

Here he secured the affections of some neighbouring Indians, and engaged them to accompany him. With them he ascended the Alleghany river and French creek, to a fort on the river La Beuf, one of its western branches. He there found monsieur Legardeur de St. Pierre, the commandant on the Ohio, and delivered to him Dinwiddie's letter;

and receiving his answer, returned with it to Williamsburgh on the seventy-eighth day after his appointment.

The patience and firmness displayed on this occasion by Washington, added to his judicious treatment of the Indians, both merited and obtained a large share of applause. A journal of the whole was published, which inspired the public with high ideas of the energies both of his body and mind.

The French were too intent on their favorite project, of extending their empire in America, to be diverted from it by the remonstrances of a colonial governor. The answer brought by Washington was such, as induced the assembly of Virginia to raise a regiment of 300 men to defend their frontiers, and maintain the right claimed in behalf of Great Britain over the disputed territory. Of this, Mr. Fry was appointed colonel, and George Washington lieutenant-colonel. The latter advanced with two companies of this regiment early in April as far as the Great Meadows. War had not yet been declared between France and England; but as neither was disposed to recede from their claims to the lands on the Ohio, it was deemed inevitable, and on the point of commencing. Several circumstances were supposed to indicate

an hostile intention on the part of the advancing French detachment. Washington, under the guidance of some friendly Indians, in a dark rainy night surprised their encampment, and, after firing once, rushed in, and surrounded them. The commanding officer, mons. Jumonville, was killed, one person escaped, and all the rest immediately surrendered. Soon after this affair, colonel Fry died, and the command devolved on Washington, who speedily collected the whole at the Great Meadows. Two independent companies of regulars, one from New York, and one from South Carolina, shortly after arrived at the same place. Colonel Washington was now at the head of nearly 400 men. A stockade, afterwards called fort Necessity, was erected at the Great Meadows, in which a small force was left; and the main body advanced, with the view of dislodging the French from fort Duquesne, which they had recently erected at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. They had not proceeded more than thirteen miles, when they were informed by friendly Indians, that the French, as numerous as pigeons in the woods, were advancing in a hostile manner towards the English settlements, and also that fort Duquesne had been recently and

strongly reinforced. In this critical situation, a council of war unanimously recommended a retreat to the Great Meadows, which was effected without delay, and every exertion made to render fort Necessity tenable. Before the works intended for that purpose were completed, monsieur de Villiers, with a considerable force, attacked the fort. The assailants were covered by trees and high grass. The Americans received them with great resolution, and fought, some within the stockade, and others in the surrounding ditch. Washington continued the whole day on the outside of the fort, and conducted the defence with the greatest coolness and intrepidity. The engagement lasted from ten in the morning till night, when the French commander demanded a parley, and offered articles of capitulation. His first and second proposals were rejected, and Washington would accept of none short of the following honorable terms, which were mutually agreed upon in the course of the night: "That the fort was to be surrendered on condition that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, and be permitted to retain their arms and baggage, and to march unmolested into the inhabited parts of Virginia."

The

The legislature of that colony, impressed with a high sense of the bravery and good conduct of their troops, though compelled to surrender the fort, voted their thanks to colonel Washington and the officers under his command; and they also gave 300 pistoles to be distributed among the soldiers engaged in this action.

The controversy about the Ohio lands, which began in Virginia, was taken up very seriously by Great Britain, and two British regiments were sent to America to support the claims of his Britannic majesty. They arrived early in 1755, and were commanded 1755.
by general Braddock. That officer being informed of the talents of Washington, invited him to serve the campaign as a volunteer aid-de-camp. The invitation was cheerfully accepted, and Washington joined general Braddock near Alexandria, and proceeded with him to Wills creek, afterwards called fort Cumberland. Here the army was detained till the 12th of June, waiting for waggons, horses, and provisions.

Washington had early recommended the use of pack horses instead of waggons, for conveying the baggage of the army. The propriety of this advice soon became apparent, and a considerable change was made

in conformity to it. The army had not advanced much more than ten miles from fort Cumberland, when Washington was seized with a violent fever, but nevertheless continued with the army, being conveyed in a covered waggon. He positively refused to stay behind, though so much exhausted as to be unable to ride on horseback. Washington, whose advice was frequently resorted to, recommended to the general, to leave his heavy artillery and baggage behind, and to advance rapidly to fort Duquesne, with a select body of troops, a few necessary stores, and some pieces of light artillery. Hopes were indulged, that by this expeditious movement, fort Duquesne might be reached, in its present weak state, with a force sufficient to reduce it before expected reinforcements should arrive. General Braddock approved the scheme, and submitted it to the consideration of a council of war, which recommended, that the commander in chief should advance as rapidly as possible, with 1200 select men, and that colonel Dunbar should stay behind with the remainder of the troops and the heavy baggage. This advanced corps commenced its march with only thirty carriages, but did not proceed with the rapidity that was expected. They frequently halted, to level

the road and to build bridges over inconsiderable brooks. They consumed four days in passing over the first nineteen miles from the Little Meadows. At this place the physician declared colonel Washington's life would be endangered by advancing with the army. He was therefore ordered by general Braddock to stay behind with a small guard, till Dunbar should arrive with the rear of the army. As soon as his strength would permit, he joined the advanced detachment, and immediately entered on the duties of his office. On the next day, July 9th, a dreadful scene took place.

When Braddock had crossed the Monongahela, and was only a few miles from fort Duquesne, pressing forward without any apprehension of danger, he was attacked in an open wood, thickset with grass. An invisible enemy, composed of French and Indians, commenced a heavy and well directed fire on his uncovered troops. The van fell back on the main body, and the whole was thrown into disorder. Marskmen levelled their pieces particularly at officers and others on horseback. In a short time, Washington was left alone, and the only aid-de-camp not wounded. On him, therefore, devolved the whole duty of carrying into execution the general's orders.

He

He was of course obliged to be constantly in motion, traversing the field of battle in all directions. He had two horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his coat; but he escaped unhurt, though every other officer on horseback was either killed or wounded. Providence preserved him for farther and greater services. Throughout the whole of the carnage and confusion of this fatal day, Washington displayed the greatest coolness and the most perfect self possession. Braddock was undismayed amidst a shower of bullets, and, by his countenance and example, encouraged his men to stand their ground; but valor was useless, and discipline only offered surer marks to the destructive aim of unseen marksmen. Unacquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, Braddock neither advanced upon, nor retreated from the assailants, but very injudiciously endeavoured to form his broken troops on the ground where they were first attacked, and where they were exposed, uncovered, to the incessant galling fire of a sheltered enemy. He had been cautioned of the danger to which he was liable, and was advised to advance the provincials in front of his troops, to scour the woods and detect ambuscades; but he disregarded the salutary recommendation. The

action

action lasted near three hours; in the course of which the general had three horses shot under him, and finally received a wound, of which he died in a few days, in the camp of Dunbar, to which he had been brought by colonel Washington and others. On the fall of Braddock, his troops gave way in all directions, and could not be rallied, till they had crossed the Monongahela. The Indians, allured by plunder, did not pursue with vigor. The vanquished regulars soon fell back to Dunbar's camp, from which, after destroying such of their stores as could be spared, they retired to Philadelphia. The officers in the British regiments displayed the greatest bravery. Their whole number was eighty-five, and sixty-four of them were killed or wounded. The common soldiers were so disconcerted by the unusual mode of attack, that they soon broke, and could not be rallied. The three Virginian companies in the engagement, behaved very differently, and fought like men, till very few were left alive. This reverse of fortune rather added to, than took from the reputation of Washington. His countrymen extolled his conduct, and generally said and believed, that if he had been commander, the disasters of the day would not have taken place. Intelligence of Braddock's defeat,

and

and that colonel Dunbar had withdrawn all the regular forces from Virginia, arrived while the assemby of that colony was in session. Impressed with the necessity of protecting their exposed frontier settlements, they determined to raise a regiment of sixteen companies. The command of this was given to Washington. So great was the public confidence in the soundness of his judgement, that he was authorised to name the field officers. His commission also designated him as commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised in Virginia.

In execution of the duties of his new office, Washington, after giving the necessary orders for the recruiting service, visited the frontiers. He found many posts, but few soldiers. Of these the best disposition was made.

While on his way to Williamsburgh, to arrange a plan of operations with the lieutenant governor, he was overtaken by an express below Fredericksburg, with information, that the back settlements were broken up by parties of French and Indians, who were murdering and capturing men, women, and children, burning their houses, and destroying their crops; and that the few troops stationed on the frontiers, unable to protect the

the country, had retreated to small stockade forts. Washington altered his course from Williamsburgh to Winchester, and made every exertion to collect a force for the defence of the country. But this was impossible; the inhabitants, instead of assembling in arms, and facing the invaders, fled before them, and extended the general panic. While the attention of individuals was engrossed by their families and private concerns, the general safety was neglected; the alarm became universal, and the utmost confusion prevailed. Before any adequate force was collected to repel the assailants, they had safely crossed the Alleghany mountains, after having done an infinity of mischief. Irruptions of this kind were repeatedly made into the frontier settlements of Virginia; these generally consisted of a considerable number of French and Indians, who were detached from fort Duquesne. It was their usual practice, on their approaching the settlements, to divide into small parties, and, avoiding the forts, to attack solitary families in the night as well as the day. The savages, accustomed to live in the woods, found little difficulty in concealing themselves till their fatal blow was struck. Sundry unimportant skirmishes took place, with various results, but the number

killed

killed on both sides was inconsiderable, when compared with the mischief done, and the many who were put to death otherwise than in battle. The invaders could seldom be brought to a regular engagement. Honorable war was not in their contemplation—plunder, devastation, and murder, were their objects. The assemblage of a respectable force to oppose them, was their signal for retreating. Irruptions of this kind were so frequent for three years following Braddock's defeat, that in Pennsylvania, the frontier settlers were driven back as far as Carlisle, and in Maryland to Frederictown, and in Virginia to the Blue Ridge.

The distresses of the inhabitants exceeded all description. If they went into stockade forts, they suffered from the want of provisions—were often surrounded, and sometimes cut off. By fleeing, they abandoned the conveniencies of home, and the means of support; if they continued on their farms, they lay down every night under apprehensions of being murdered before morning. But this was not the worst; captivity and torture were frequently their portion. To all these evils, women, aged persons, and children, were equally liable with men in arms: for savages make no distinction—extermination is their object.

object. To Washington, the inhabitants looked for that protection he had not the means of giving. In a letter to the governor, he observed, " the supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the peoples ease." Virginia presented a frontier of 360 miles, exposed to these incursions. Hard was the lot of Washington, to whom was intrusted the defence of these extensive settlements, without means adequate to the purpose. The regiment voted by the assembly was never filled; its actual number was oftener below than above 700 men. The militia afforded a very feeble aid, on which little reliance could be placed; they were slow in collecting, and when collected, began to hanker after home, and, while in camp, would not submit to that discipline, without which, an army is a mob. —The militia laws were very defective. Cowardice in time of action, and sleeping while on duty, though crimes of the most destructive nature, were very inadequately punished by the civil code, under which they took the field. Desertion and mutiny for

some considerable time subjected the offender to nothing more than slight penalties.

Washington was incessant in his representations to the governor and to the assembly, that no reliance could be placed on the militia, under existing regulations, and that the inconsiderable number enlisted for regular service, together with the plans proposed for the security of the frontiers, were altogether inadequate. He not only pointed out the defect of the system which had been adopted, but submitted to the consideration of those in power, such measures as he thought best, and particularly recommended, in case offensive operations were not adopted, that twenty-two forts, extending in a line of 360 miles, should be immediately erected and garrisoned by 2,000 men in constant pay and service; but on all occasions gave a decided preference to the reduction of fort Duquesne, as the only radical remedy for the evils to which the frontier settlements were exposed. Propositions to this effect were made and
1756. urged by him in 1756 and 1757, both to the
1757. government of Virginia and the commanders in chief of the British forces in America; but a short-sighted policy in the first, and a preference given by the last to a vigorous prosecution of the war in the northern colonies, prevented

vented their acceptance. To his inexpressible joy, the project attained in the year 1758 the 1758.
complete approbation of general Forbes, who was charged with the defence of the middle and southern colonies. This being resolved upon, the movements of the army were directed to that point. Part of the force destined for this expedition was at Philadelphia, part at Raystown, and part dispersed on the frontiers of Virginia. To bring all together, was a work of time and difficulty. Washington urged the necessity of an early campaign; but such delays took place, that he did not receive orders to assemble his regiment at Winchester till the 24th of May, nor to proceed from thence to fort Cumberland till the 24th of June, nor to proceed to Raystown till the 21st of September. The main body did not commence their march from Raystown till the 2d of October, and it was as late as the 25th of November when they reached fort Duquesne. These delays threatened to render the campaign abortive, and were extremely mortifying to Washington. He urged the necessity of expedition, and most pointedly remonstrated against one of the principal causes of delay. This was a resolution adopted by his superiors for opening a new road for the army

in preference to that which was commonly known by the name of general Braddock's. Being overruled, he quietly submitted. Instead of embarrassing measures he thought injudicious, the whole energies of himself and his regiment were exerted to make the most of those which his commanding officer preferred. The progress of the army was so slow, that it did not reach Loyal Hannah till the 5th of November. Here it was determined, in a council of war, "to be unadvisable to proceed any farther that campaign." If this resolution had been adhered to, the only alternative would have been to winter an army of 8,000 men in a cold inhospitable wilderness, remote from all friendly settlements, or to tread back their steps, and wait for a more favorable season. In either case, they would have suffered immensely. The propriety of the remonstrances made by Washington against the many delays which had taken place, now became obviously striking. The hopes of restoring peace to the frontier settlements, by reducing fort Duquesne, began to vanish. But, contrary to all human appearances, success was now offered to their grasp at the very moment they had given up every hope of obtaining it. Some prisoners were taken, who gave such information of the state

state of the garrison, as induced a reversal of the late determinations, and encouraged the general to proceed. Washington was in front, superintending the opening of the road, for the accommodation of the troops. They advanced with slow and cautious steps until they reached fort Duquesne. To their great surprise, they found the post evacuated, and that the garrison had retreated down the Ohio. The reasons for the abandonment of so advantageous a position must be looked for elsewhere. The British had urged the war with so much vigor and success against the French, to the northward of the Ohio, that no reinforcements could be spared to fort Duquesne. The British fleet had captured a considerable part of the reinforcements destined by France for her colonies. The tide of fortune had begun to turn against the French in favor of the English. This weakened the influence of the former over the Indians, and caused them to withdraw from the support of the garrison. Under different circumstances, the success of the campaign would have been doubtful, perhaps impracticable.

The benefits which resulted from the acquisition of fort Duquesne proved the soundness of Washington's judgment, in so warmly urging for three years an expedition for its

reduction. These were not confined to Virginia, but extended to Pennsylvania and Maryland. While the French were in possession of that post, the Indians near the Ohio were entirely at their beck. This was their place of rendezvous, and from it they made frequent and ruinous incursions into these three colonies. They neither spared age nor sex, but killed or captivated indiscriminately all who came in their way. Fire and devastation, the scalping knife, and tomahawk, marked their route. A complete revolution in the disposition of the Indians resulted from the expulsion of the French. Always prone to take part with the strongest, the Indians deserted their ancient friends, and paid court to those who by recent conquest were now in possession of the country. A treaty of peace was soon after concluded with all the Indian tribes, between the Lakes and the Ohio. Fort Duquesne henceforward assumed the name of fort Pitt, received considerable repairs, and was garrisoned by 200 men from Washington's regiment. It became as useful in future to the English settlements as it had been injurious while in the occupation of the French.

The campaign of 1758 ended the military career of colonel Washington as a provincial

officer. The great object on which his heart was set, the reduction of fort Duquesne, being accomplished, he resigned his commission. During the three preceding years, in which he was charged with the defence of Virginia, none of those great events occurred which enliven and adorn the page of history; yet the duties he performed were extremely arduous. He established exact discipline in his regiment, though unaccustomed to restraint, and infused into them such a spirit as made them when in action fight like men and die like soldiers.

The difficulties of defending such an extensive frontier with so inadequate a force, would have chagrined almost any other man into a resignation of the command, but only excited in him greater importunity with the ruling powers for the correction of errors. The plans he proposed, the systems he recommended for conducting the war, displayed an uncommon vigor of mind. He retired from the army with the thanks of his regiment, and the esteem not only of his countrymen, but of the officers of the British army; and, what is particularly remarkable, with the undiminished confidence of the frontier settlers, to whom he was unable to extend that protection they expected from his hands.

They were thoroughly convinced he had made the best use of his scanty means for the security of so extensive a frontier; and to the weight of his advice in recommending, and spirited co-operation in executing, they ascribed a large proportion of the merit of the late successful expedition against fort Duquesne; an event from which they promised themselves an exemption from the calamities under which they had long laboured. As a farther reward of his gallant and patriotic services, he shortly after obtained the hand of Mrs. Curtis, who to a fine person and large fortune, added every accomplishment which contributes to the happiness of married life.

Colonel Washington by the death of his elder brother, Lawrence, had a few years before acquired an estate situated on the Potomack, called Mont Vernon, in compliment to admiral Vernon, who, about the year 1741, commanded the British fleet in an expedition against Carthagena, in which expedition Mr. Lawrence Washington had been engaged. To this delightful spot the late commander of the Virginia forces, released from the cares of a military life, and in possession of every thing that could make life agreeable, withdrew, and gave himself up to domestic

domestic pursuits. These were conducted with so much judgement, steadiness, and industry, as greatly to enlarge and improve his estate. To them he exclusively devoted himself for fifteen years, with the exception of his serving in the house of burgesses of the colony of Virginia, and as a judge of the court of the county in which he resided. In these two stations he acquitted himself with reputation, and acquired no inconsiderable knowledge in the science of civil government. During this period, the clashing claims of Great Britain and her colonies were frequently brought before the Virginia legislature. In every instance, he took a decided part in the opposition made to the principle of taxation claimed by the parent state.

Had Great Britain been wise, the history of George Washington would have ended here; with the addition, that he died in the 68th year of his age, having sustained through life the character of a good man, an excellent farmer, a wise member of the legislature, and an impartial distributor of justice among his neighbours. Very different was his destiny. From being the commander of the forces of his native colony, Virginia, he was advanced to the command of the armies of thirteen united

united colonies, and successfully led them through a revolutionary war of eight years duration, which issued in their establishment as thirteen united states. The origin of these great events must be looked for across the Atlantic.

CHAP. II.

CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

A brief retrospect of events introductory to the American revolutionary war.—George Washington is appointed commander in chief of the American forces.—Takes the command of their army before Boston.—His operations there in 1775 and 1776.—The evacuation of Boston.

THE British colonies, from their first settlement till the peace of Paris, in 1763, were considered as instruments of commerce. Soon after that event, a short-sighted minister undertook to convert them into instruments of revenue. The right of taxing the colonies was claimed by the British parliament, as incidental to sovereignty, and resisted by the colonists on the constitutional ground, that taxes were the free gifts of the people, by their direct and immediate representatives. For twelve years, the controversy was conducted by the pen; but after that period, by the sword. The pride of sovereignty on one side, and the jealousy of liberty on the other, kindled the flames of civil war. For information respecting the rise and progress of the controversy which led to this fatal measure, and the formation of a continental congress, composed of deputies from each of the colonies, 1763.

nies to superintend their common concerns; the commencement of hostilities between the British troops and the militia of Massachusetts; the formation of an American army by the authority of that colony, to defend themselves against a British army stationed in Boston for the avowed purpose of enforcing their submission to the claims of the British parliament; the reader is referred to the historians of the American revolution. In these great events, Washington, whose residence was 600 miles distant from the scene of action, had no more particular agency than other influential individuals, or members of congress. After the battle of Lexington had been fought, and congress had resolved to make a common cause with the people of Massachusetts, then, and not till then, he, by an unanimous vote of the deputies representing twelve united colonies, was appointed commander in chief of their forces. His election was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy. The same general impulse on the public mind, which led the colonies to agree in many other particulars, pointed to him as the most proper person for presiding over their armies. To the president of congress announcing his appointment, general Washington replied in a short

a short speech, in which he declared, "that he felt great distress, from consciousness that his abilities and military experience were not equal to the important trust; and, lest some unlucky event should happen, he begged every gentleman in the room to remember, that he declared, with the utmost sincerity, that he did not think himself equal to the command." "As to pay," he assured congress, "that as no pecuniary considerations would have tempted him to accept the arduous employment, he did not wish to make any profit from it. That he would keep an exact account of his expences, the discharge of which was all that he desired." A special commission was made out for him, and, at the same time, an unanimous resolution was adopted by congress, "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty."

He immediately entered on the duties of his high station. After passing a few days in New York, and making some arrangements with general Schuyler, who commanded there, he proceeded to Cambridge, which was the head-quarters of the American army. On his way thither, he received from private persons, and public bodies, the most flattering attention,

attention, and the strongest expressions of determination to support him. He received an address from the provincial congress of New York, in which, after expressing their approbation of his elevation to command, they say, " we have the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen." The general, after declaring his gratitude for the regard shewn him, added, " Be assured that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself will be extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and these colonies. As to the fatal, but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen; and we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

A committee from the Massachusetts congress received him at Springfield, about 100 miles

miles from Boston, and conducted him to the army. He was soon after addressed by the congress of that colony, in the most affectionate manner. In his answer, he said, "Gentlemen, your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgements, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life, for the duties of my present honorable, but arduous station; I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating these rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety."

When general Washington arrived at Cambridge, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. At the head of his troops he published a declaration, previously drawn up by congress, in the nature of a manifesto, setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. In this, after enumerating various grievances of the colonies, and vindicating

cating them from a premeditated design of establishing independent states, it was added, "In our own native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

When general Washington joined the American army, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's Hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copse's Hill, and were strongly fortified on the neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury, communicating with one another by small posts over a distance of ten miles; nor could they be contracted, without exposing the country to the incursions of the enemy.

The army put under the command of Washington, amounted to 14,500 men. Several circumstances concurred to render this force very inadequate to active operations.

Military

Military stores were deficient in camp, and the whole in the country was inconsiderable. On the 4th of August all the stock of powder 1775.
in the American camp, and in the public magazines of the four New England provinces, would have made little more than nine rounds a man. In this destitute condition the army remained for a fortnight. To the want of powder was added a very general want of bayonets, of clothes, of working tools, and a total want of engineers. Under all these embarrassments Washington observed, that "he had the materials of a good army; that the men were ablebodied, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage." He immediately instituted such arrangements as were calculated to increase their capacity for service. The army was distributed into brigades and divisions, and on his recommendation general staff officers were appointed. Œconomy, union, and system were introduced into every department. As the troops came into service under the authority of distinct colonial governments, no uniformity existed among the regiments. In Massachusetts the men had chosen their officers, and, rank excepted, were, in other respects frequently their equals. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials; and to subject freemen, animated

with the spirit of liberty, to the control of military discipline, required patience, forbearance, and a spirit of accommodation. This delicate and arduous duty was undertaken by general Washington, and discharged with great address. When he had made considerable progress in disciplining his army, the term for which enlistments had taken place, was on the point of expiring. The troops from Connecticut and Rhode island were only engaged to the first of December 1775, and no part of the army longer than the first of January 1776. The commander in chief made early and forcible representations to congress on this subject, and urged them to adopt efficient measures for the formation of a new army. They deputed three of their members, Mr. Lynch, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Harrison to repair to camp, and, in conjunction with Washington and the chief magistrates of the New England colonies, to confer on the most effectual mode of continuing, supporting, and regulating a continental army. By them it was resolved to list 23,722 men, as far as practicable, from the troops before Boston, to serve to the last day of December 1776, unless sooner discharged by congress. In the execution of this resolve, Washington called upon all officers and soldiers to make their election for retiring or continuing.

Several of the inferior officers retired; many of the men would not continue on any terms; several refused unless they were indulged with furloughs; others unless they were allowed to choose their officers. So many impediments obstructed the recruiting service, that it required great address to obviate them. Washington made forcible appeals in general orders to the pride and patriotism of both officers and men. He promised every indulgence compatible with safety, and every comfort that the state of the country authorised. In general orders of the 26th of October, he observed, "The times, and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allow no room for hesitation and delay. When life, liberty, and property are at stake; when our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed and desolation; when our towns are laid in ashes, innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations; when calamities like these are staring us in the face, and a brutal savage enemy are threatening us and every thing we hold dear with destruction from foreign troops, it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms. It is the general's intention to indulge both officers and soldiers who compose the new

army with furloughs for a reasonable time, but this must be done in such a manner as not to injure the service, or weaken the army too much at once." In the instructions given to the recruiting officers, the general enjoined upon them "not to enlist any person suspected to be unfriendly to the liberties of America; nor any vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal and alike indifferent."

Though great exertions had been made to procure recruits, yet the regiments were not filled. Several causes operated in producing this disinclination to the service. The sufferings of the army had been great. Fuel was very scarce. Clothes, and even provisions, had not been furnished in sufficient quantities. The dread of the small pox deterred many from entering; but the principal reason was a dislike to a military life. Much also of that enthusiasm which brought numbers to the field, on the commencement of hostilities, had abated. The army of 1775 was wasting away by the expiration of the terms of service, and recruits for the new entered slowly. The regiments which were entitled to their discharge on the first of December, were with great difficulty persuaded to stay ten days, when reinforcements of militia were expected to supply their place. From

the eagerness of the old troops to go home, and the slowness of the new to enter the service, it was difficult to keep up the blockade. On the last day of the year, when the first were entirely disbanded, the last only amounted to 9,650 men, and many of these were absent on furlough. At this time the royal army in Boston was about 8,000. To assist the recruiting service, Washington recommended to congress to try the effects of a bounty, but this was not resolved upon till late in January 1776. In that and the following month the army was considerably increased.

The blockade of Boston was all this time kept up, and the enemy confined to the city; but this was far short of what the American people expected. Common fame represented the troops under the command of general Washington, to be nearly treble the royal army. This ample force was supposed to be furnished with every thing necessary for the most active operations. Their real numbers and deficient equipments were, for obvious reasons, carefully concealed. The ardor and impatience of the public had long since counted on the expulsion of the British from Boston. Washington was equally ardent, but better informed, and more prudent. He well knew the advantages that would result

to the cause in which he was engaged from some brilliant stroke; nor was he insensible to insinuations, by some, that he was devoid of energy, and by others, that he wished to prolong his own importance by continuing the war. He bore these murmurs with patience; but, nevertheless, had his eyes directed to Boston, and wished for an opening to commence offensive operations. The propriety of this measure was submitted to the consideration of repeated councils of war, who uniformly declared against it. A hope was nevertheless indulged, that ice, in the course of the winter, would be favorable to an assault. That this opportunity might not be lost, measures were adopted for procuring large reinforcements of militia, to serve till the first of March 1776. From 4 to 5,000 men were accordingly procured. Contrary to what is usual, the waters about Boston continued open till the middle of February. Councils of war were hitherto nearly unanimous against an assault. General Washington was less opposed to it than some others; but the want of ammunition for the artillery, together with the great probability of failure, induced him to decline the attempt. In lieu of it, he formed a bold resolution to take a new position, that would either compel the British general

general to come to an action, or to evacuate Boston. The American army was now stronger than ever. Recruiting for the two last months had been unusually successful. The regular army exceeded 14,000 men, and the militia were about 6,000. Washington, thus reinforced, determined to fortify the heights of Dorchester, from which he could annoy the ships in the harbor, and the army in the town. To favor the execution of this plan, the town and lines of the enemy were bombarded on the second, third, and fourth of March. On the night of the fourth, general Thomas, with a considerable detachment, took possession of the heights of Dorchester. By great exertions, this party, in the course of the night, nearly covered themselves from the shot of the enemy. The appearance of their works, caused no little surprise in the British camp. These were every hour advancing, so as to afford additional security to the Americans posted behind them. The admiral informed general Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he would not be able to keep one of the British ships in the harbor. The enemy were now brought to the alternative which Washington wished for. They must either risk an action without their lines, or abandon the place. General Howe

preferred the former, and ordered 3,000 men on this service. These were embarked, and fell down to the castle, with the intention of proceeding up the river to the attack, but were dispersed by a tremendous storm. Before they could be in readiness to proceed, the American works were advanced to such a state of security, as to discourage any attempt against them. Washington expecting an immediate assault on the new raised works at Dorchester, and supposing that the best troops of the enemy would be ordered on that service, had prepared to attack the town of Boston at the same time. Four thousand men were ready for embarkation at the mouth of Cambridge river, to proceed on this business as soon as it was known that the British were gone out in force to their intended attack. It was now resolved by the British to evacuate Boston as soon as possible. In a few days after, a flag came out of Boston with a paper, signed by four select men, intimating, "that they had applied to general Robertson, who, on an application to general Howe, was authorized to assure them, that he had no intention of burning the town, unless the troops under his command were molested during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the armed force without."

When

When this paper was presented to Washington, he replied, "that as it was an unauthenticated paper, and without an address, and not obligatory on general Howe, he could take no notice of it;" but at the same time intimated his good wishes for the security of the town.

Washington made arrangements for the security of his army, but did not advance his works, nor embarrass the British in their proposed evacuation. He wished to save Boston, and to gain time for the fortification of New York, to which place he supposed the evacuating army was destined. Under this impression, he detached a considerable part of his force to that place, and with the remainder took possession of Boston, as soon as the British troops had completed their embarkation. On entering the town, Washington was received with marks of approbation more flattering than the pomps of a triumph. The inhabitants, released from the severities of a garrison life, and from the various indignities to which they were subjected, hailed him as their deliverer. Reciprocal congratulations between those who had been confined within the British lines, and those who were excluded from entering them, were exchanged with an ardor which cannot be described. General Washington was honored by congress with

a vote

a vote of thanks. They also ordered a medal to be struck, with suitable devices, to perpetuate the remembrance of the great event. The Massachusetts council, and house of representatives, complimented him in a joint address, in which they expressed their good wishes, in the following words: "May you still go on, approved by Heaven, revered by all good men, and dreaded by those tyrants who claim their fellow men as their property." His answer was modest and proper.

CHAP. III.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

Operations in and near New York and in New Jersey.—Battle of Long island.—Evacuation of York island.—Retreat into New Jersey.—Battles of Trenton and Princeton.

THE evacuation of Boston varied the scene, but did not lessen the labors of Washington. Henceforward he had a much more formidable enemy to contend with. The royal army in Boston was on a small scale, calculated to awe the inhabitants of Massachusetts into obedience; but the campaign of 1776 was opened in New York with a force 1776.
far exceeding any thing hitherto seen in America. Including the navy and army, it amounted to 55,000 men, and was calculated on the idea of reducing the whole thirteen united colonies. The operations contemplated could be best carried on from the nearly central province of New York, and the army could be supplied with provisions from the adjacent islands, and easily defended by the British navy. For these reasons, the evacuation of Boston, and the concentration of the

the royal forces at New York, had been for sometime resolved upon in England.

The reasons that induced the British to gain possession of New York, weighed with Washington to prevent or delay it. He had therefore detached largely from his army before Boston, and sent general Lee to take the command; and after providing for the security of Boston, proceeded, soon after the evacuation thereof, with the main army to New York, and made every preparation in his power for its defence. Considerable time was allowed for this purpose, for general Howe, instead of pushing directly for New York, retired to Halifax with the forces withdrawn from Boston. He there waited for the promised reinforcements from England; but, impatient of delay, sailed without them for New York, and took possession of Staten island in the latter end of June. He was soon followed by his brother, admiral Howe, and their whole force was assembled about the middle of July, and in apparent readiness for opening the campaign. Before hostilities were commenced, the British general and admiral, in their quality of civil commissioners for effecting a reunion between Great Britain and the colonies, made an attempt at negotiation. To introduce this business

ness they sent a flag ashore, with a letter addressed to George Washington, esq. This he refused to receive, as not being addressed to him with the title due to his rank, and at the same time wrote to congress, "that he would not, on any occasion, sacrifice essentials to punctilio, but, in this instance, deemed it a duty to his country to insist on that respect, which, in any other than a public view, he would willingly have waved." Sometime after, adjutant-general Patterson was sent, by general Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. On an interview, the adjutant-general, after expressing his high esteem for the person and character of the American general, and declaring that it was not intended to derogate from the respect due to his rank, expressed his hopes that the et ceteras would remove the impediments to their correspondence. General Washington replied, "It is true the et ceteras imply every thing, but it is no less true, that they imply any thing, and that he should therefore decline the receiving any letter, directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station." A long conference ensued, in which the adjutant-general observed, that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would

would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." He received for answer, "that, from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they who had committed no fault wanted no pardon."

On the arrival of general Howe at Staten island, the American army did not exceed 10,000 men, but, by sundry reinforcements, before the end of August, they amounted to 27,000. Of these a great part were militia, and one fourth of the whole was sick. The diseases incident to new troops prevailed extensively, and were augmented by a great deficiency in tents. These troops were so judiciously distributed on York island, Long island, Governor's island, Paulus Hook, and on the sound towards New Rochelle, East and West Chester, that the enemy were very cautious in determining when and where to commence offensive operations. Every probable point of debarkation was watched and guarded with a force sufficient to embarrass, though very insufficient to prevent a landing.

From the arrival of the British army at Staten island, the Americans were in daily expectation of being attacked. Washington was, therefore, strenuous in preparing his troops for action. He tried every expedient to kindle in their breasts the love of their country,

country, and an high-toned indignation against its invaders. In general orders he addressed them as follows: "The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves—whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us the choice of a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or to die. Our own, our country's honor, call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion; and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us then rely on the goodness of our cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are on us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show

the

the whole world, that a freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth."

When the whole reinforcements of the enemy had arrived, Washington, in expectation of an immediate attack, once more addressed his army, and called on them to remember, "that liberty, property, and life, are all at stake—that upon their courage and conduct rest the hopes of their bleeding and insulted country—that their wives, children, and parents expect safety from them only; and that they had every reason to believe that Heaven would crown with success so just a cause." He then gave the most explicit orders that any soldier who should attempt to conceal himself, or retreat without orders, should instantly be shot down as an example of the punishment of cowardice;" and desired "every officer to be particularly attentive to the conduct of his men, and report those who should distinguish themselves by brave and noble actions, whom he solemnly promised to notice and reward."

On the 22d of August, the greatest part of the British troops landed on Long island; and Washington immediately made a farther effort to rouse his troops to deeds of valor. "The enemy," said he, "have now landed on

Long

Long island, and the hour is fast approaching, on which the honor and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty; that slavery will be your portion and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage has been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders, though they have found by dear experience, at Boston, Charleston, and other places, what a few brave men, contending in their own land and in the best of causes, can do against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool, but determined. Do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers." He repeated his injunctions "to shoot down any person who should misbehave in action," and his hope "that none so infamous would be found, but that, on the contrary, each for himself resolving to conquer or die, and trusting to the smiles of heaven on so just a cause, would behave with bravery and resolution." His assurance of rewards to those who should distinguish themselves were repeated, and he declared "his confidence, that if the army would but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, they would by a glorious victory save their country, and acquire to themselves immortal honour."

On the 5th day after their landing, the British attacked the Americans on Long island, commanded by general Sullivan. The variety of ground, and the different parties employed in different places, both in the attack and defence, occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours.

The Americans were defeated in all directions. The circumstances which eminently contributed to this, were, the superior discipline of the assailants, and the want of early intelligence of their movements. There was not a single corps of cavalry in the American army. The transmission of intelligence was of course always slow, and often impracticable. From the want of it, some of their detachments, while retreating before one portion of the enemy, were advancing towards another, of whose movements they were ignorant. In the height of the engagement, Washington passed over to Long island, and, with infinite regret, saw the slaughter of his best troops, but had not the power to prevent it, for had he drawn his whole force to their support, he must have risked every thing on a single engagement. He adopted the wiser plan, of evacuating the island with all the forces he could bring off. In superintending this necessary but difficult and dangerous move-

ment,

ment, and the events of the preceding day, Washington for forty-eight hours never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly on horseback. In less than thirteen hours the field artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9.000 men, were conveyed from Long island to the city of New York, over East river, and without the knowledge of the British, though not 600 yards distant. The darkness of the night, and a heavy fog in the morning, together with a fair wind after midnight, favoured this retreat. It was completed without interruption sometime after the dawning of the day. The unsuccessful termination of the late action led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans than the loss of their men. Hitherto, they had had such confidence in themselves, engaged as they were in the cause of liberty and their country, that it outweighed all their apprehensions from the discipline of the British troops; but now, finding that many of them had been encircled in inextricable difficulties, from the superior military skill of their adversaries, they went to the opposite extreme, and began to think but very indifferently of themselves and their leaders when opposed to disciplined troops. For some time after, as often as they saw the enemy approaching, they suspected a military ma-

nœuvre, from which they supposed nothing could save them but immediate flight. Apprehensions of this kind might naturally be expected from citizen soldiers, lately taken from agricultural pursuits, who expected to lay aside the military character at the end of the current year. Washington, tremblingly alive to the state of his army, wrote to congress, shortly after the defeat on Long island, as follows: "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole regiments, in many by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when it is added, that their example has infected another part of the army; that their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, has rendered a like conduct but too common in the whole, and has produced an

entire

entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary for the well-doing of an army; our condition is still more alarming, and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

"All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once, in my letters, took the liberty of mentioning to congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia, or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations have hitherto prescribed. I am persuaded, and fully convinced, that our liberties must be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence be left to any but a permanent army.

"Nor would the expense, incident to the support of such a body of troops as would be competent to every exigency, far exceed that which is incurred by calling in daily succours and new enlistments, which, when effected, are not attended with any good consequences. Men who have been free, and subject to no control, cannot be reduced to order in an instant; and the privileges and exemptions they claim, and will have, influence the conduct of others in such a manner, that the aid derived from them is nearly

counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasion."

In fourteen days after the date of this serious remonstrance, congress resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions, to serve during the war. Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign with as little loss as possible, so as to gain time to raise a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans an object of the greatest importance. Washington, after much deliberation, determined on a war of posts. Recent events confirmed him in the policy of defending his country by retreating, when he could no longer stand his ground without risking his army. He well knew, that by adopting it, he would subject himself to the imputation of wanting energy and decision; but with him, the love of country was paramount to all other considerations.

In conformity to these principles, the evacuation of New York was about this time resolved upon, whensoever it could be no longer maintained, without risking the American army. Arrangements were accordingly made for a temporary defence, and an ultimate retreat when necessity required. The British, now in possession of Long island, could at pleasure pass over to York island, or the main.

Washington

Washington was apprehensive that they would land above him, cut off his retreat, and force him to a general action on York island. He therefore moved his public stores to Dobbs ferry, and stationed a body of men at the northern end of York island. With the remainder he kept up the semblance of defending New York, though he had determined to abandon it, rather than risk his army for its preservation.

While Washington was making arrangements to save his troops and stores, by evacuating and retreating, the British commander was prosecuting his favourite scheme, of forcing the Americans to a general action, or breaking the communication between their posts. With this view he landed about 4,000 men, three miles above New York, under cover of five men of war. Works had been thrown up at this place, which were capable of being defended for some time, and troops were stationed in them for that purpose; but they fled with precipitation, without waiting for the approach of the enemy. Two brigades were put in motion to support them. Washington rode to the scene of action, and, to his great mortification, met the whole retreating. While he was exerting himself to rally them, on the appearance of a small corps of

the enemy, they again broke, and ran off in disorder.

Such dastardly conduct raised a tempest in the usually tranquil mind of Washington. Having embarked in the American cause from the purest principles, he viewed, with infinite concern this shameful behaviour, as threatening ruin to his country. He recollected the many declarations of congress, of the army, and of the inhabitants, preferring liberty to life, and death to dishonour, and contrasted them with their present scandalous flight. His soul was harrowed up with apprehensions that his country would be conquered, her army disgraced, and her liberties destroyed. He saw in imagination new formed states, with the means of defence in their hands, and the glorious prospects of liberty before them, levelled to the dust, and such constitutions imposed on them, as were likely to crush the vigour of the human mind, while the unsuccessful issue of the present struggle would for ages to come deter posterity from the bold design of asserting their rights. Impressed with these ideas, he hazarded his person for some considerable time in rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy, with his horse's head towards the latter, as if in expectation, that by an honourable death,

death, he might escape the infamy he dreaded from the dastardly conduct of troops on whom he could place no dependence. His aides-de-camp, and the confidential friends around his person, compelled him to retire. In consequence of their address and importunity, a life was saved for public service, which otherwise, from a sense of honour, and a gust of passion, seemed to be devoted to almost certain destruction. The shameful events of this day hastened the evacuation of New York. This was effected with very little loss of men; but all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of the baggage, provisions, and military stores, and particularly the tents, were unavoidably left behind. The British, having got possession of the city of New York, advanced in front of it, and stretched their encampments across York island, while their shipping defended their flanks. Washington had made his strongest post at King's bridge, as that preserved his communication with the country. In front of this, and near to the British, he had a strong detachment posted in an intrenched camp. This position of the two armies was particularly agreeable to him, for he wished to accustom his raw troops to face their enemies. He hoped that by frequent skirmishes they would grow familiar with the

dangers incident to war, and fear them less. Opportunities of making the experiment soon occurred. On the day after the retreat from New York, a skirmish took place between an advanced detachment of the British army and some American troops commanded by colonel Knowlton of Connecticut and major Leitch of Virginia. Both these officers fell bravely, fighting at the head of their troops. The captains with their men kept the ground, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. This was the first advantage the army under the command of Washington had gained in the campaign: its influence therefore was great. To increase its effects, the parole the next day was "Leitch," and the general gave public thanks to the troops that had been engaged. He contrasted their conduct with the late shameful flight of others, and observed, "that the result proved what might be done where officers and men exerted themselves;" and again called on all "so to act as not to disgrace the noble cause in which they were engaged."

General Howe continued to prosecute his scheme for cutting off Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him, so as to compel a general engagement. With this view the royal army landed

on

on Frogs neck, in West Chester county, and soon after advanced to New Rochelle, and made a variety of movements, all calculated to effect this purpose. A few skirmishes took place; but a general action was carefully avoided by Washington, except in one case, in which he had such a manifest advantage, from his position on hills near the White plains, that general Howe declined it. The project of getting in the rear of the American army, was in like manner frustrated by frequent and judicious changes of position. General Howe, failing in his first scheme, varied his plan of operations. His efforts were henceforward directed to an invasion of New Jersey. Washington, penetrating his design, crossed the North river. He wrote to governor Livingston, urging him to put the militia of New Jersey in the best state of preparation to defend their country, and also recommending the removal of stock and provisions from the sea coast. About this time fort Washington was taken by storm, and the garrison, consisting of more than 2000 men, with their commander, colonel Magaw, surrendered prisoners of war. This was the only post held by the Americans on York island, and was an exception to the general plan of evacuating and retreating. Hopes had

had been indulged that it might be defended, and, in conjunction with fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore, made very useful, in embarrassing the passage of British vessels up and down the North river. This post having fallen, orders for the evacuation of fort Lee were immediately given: but before the stores could be removed, lord Cornwallis crossed North river with 6000 men. Washington, retreating before him, took post along the Hackinsack. His situation there was nearly similar to that which he had abandoned, for he was liable to be enclosed between the Hackinsack and Posaic rivers; he, therefore, on the appearance of the enemy, passed over to New Ark—stood his ground there for a few days, as if determined on resistance, but being incapable of any effectual opposition, retreated to Brunswick, on the very day lord Cornwallis entered New Ark. At Brunswick, Washington kept his troops in motion, and even advanced a small detachment, as if intending to engage the enemy. Nor did he quit this position till their advanced guards were in sight. Lord Stirling was left at Princeton, with 1200 men, to watch the British, and Washington proceeded with the residue to Trenton. There he meant to make a stand. Orders were

previously

previously given to collect and guard all the boats, for seventy miles, on the Delaware. The baggage and stores were also passed over. These being secured, Washington detached 1200 men to Princeton, to keep up the appearance of opposition, and soon followed, with about 2000 militia who had recently joined him. Before he reached Princeton, intelligence was received, that lord Cornwallis, strongly reinforced, was advancing from Brunswick in different directions, with the apparent design of getting in his rear. An immediate retreat over the Delaware became necessary. This was effected on the 8th of December. Washington secured all his boats on the Pennsylvania side, broke down the bridges, and posted his troops at the different fording places. So keen was the pursuit, that as the rear guard of the retreating army embarked, the van of the enemy came in sight. The British, having driven the American army out of Jersey, posted themselves up and down the Delaware, and small parties passed and repassed from one to the other without interruption.

They made some attempts to get boats, but failed: they also repaired some of the bridges, that had been recently destroyed, and pushed forward a strong detachment to Bordenton.

Bordenton. This was intended to increase their chances for crossing, and to embarrass Washington, who could not tell from which of their several positions they would make the attempt. General Putnam was in the meantime sent on to superintend the erection of lines of defence, from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, for the security of Philadelphia. Small redoubts were hastily thrown up to guard the fording places, and Germantown was fixed upon as a place of rendezvous, in case the British should cross and drive the Americans from their extended encampments on the Delaware. This retreat through the Jerseys was attended with almost every circumstance that could occasion embarrassment or depression. Washington was pressed with difficulties on all sides, and could not promise himself adequate support from any quarter. His gloomy prospects were not brightened by any expectations, on the fulfilment of which he could depend. Distrusting, but not despairing, he asked colonel Reed, "Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The colonel answered, "If the lower countries are subdued, and give up, the back counties will do the same." Washington nobly replied—"We must retire

tire to Augusta county, in Virginia; numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war, and, if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains." Washington had no cavalry, but a small corps of badly mounted Connecticut militia, and was almost equally destitute of artillery, while conducting this retreat. It commenced a few days after the reduction of fort Washington, in which the flower of the American army were made prisoners of war. A great part of the retreating troops consisted of those who had garrisoned fort Lee. These had been compelled to abandon their post so suddenly, that they left behind them their tents, blankets, and cooking utensils. In this situation they retreated, badly armed, worse clad, and, in many instances, barefooted, in the cold months of November and December, through a desponding country, more disposed to seek safety by submission than resistance. Under all these disadvantages, they performed a march of about ninety miles, and had the address to prolong it to the space of nineteen days, that as much time as possible might be gained for expected reinforcements to arrive. But, as they retreated through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined

joined them; while numbers daily flocked to the British army, and took the benefit of a royal proclamation, issued at this critical time, for pardoning all who, within sixty days, would return to the condition of British subjects.

The small force which began this retreat was daily lessening by the expiration of the term of service for which they were engaged: this terminated in November with many, and in December with nearly two-thirds of the residue. No persuasions were availing, to induce their continuance. They abandoned their general when the advancing enemy was nearly in sight. The Pennsylvania militia was engaged to the 1st day of January, but so many of them deserted that it became necessary to place guards at the ferries to stop them. Two regiments had been ordered from Tirconduaga to join Washington, but their term of service expired on the 1st of December. They refused to reinlist, and went off to a man. General Lee, who commanded the eastern troops, was repeatedly ordered by Washington to cross the North river, and join the retreating army; but these orders were not obeyed. While at a distance both from his troops and the enemy, he was surprised and taken prisoner by the British.

British. This begat suspicions, that, despairing of the success of the Americans, he had chosen to abandon their service. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same mischievous effects on the minds of the people as if they had been realities. About the same time, congress thought it expedient to leave Philadelphia, and retire to Baltimore. Under all these trying circumstances, Washington was undismayed. He did not despair of the public safety. With unconquerable firmness, and the most perfect self-possession, he was always the same, and constantly shewed himself to his soldiery with a serene and undisturbed countenance. Nothing was omitted by him that could embarrass the enemy, or animate his men and his country. He forcibly pointed out to congress the defective constitution of their army, without cavalry, without artillery and engineers, and at the same time enlarged upon the impolicy of short enlistments, and placing confidence in militia suddenly called out and frequently changed. He urged these matters with great warmth; but to prevent offence, added, "A character to lose—an estate to forfeit—the inestimable blessing of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, will be my excuse." He also hinted at the propriety

of enlarging his powers, so as to enable him to act, in cases of urgency, without constant application to congress; yet apologized for this liberty, by declaring "that he felt no lust of power, and wished with the greatest fervency for an opportunity of turning the sword into a ploughshare;" but added, "his feelings as an officer and a man, had been such as forced him to say, that no person ever had a greater chain of difficulties to contend with than himself."

In this very dangerous crisis, Washington made every exertion to procure reinforcements to supply the place of those who were daily leaving him. He sent generals Mislin and Armstrong to rouse the Pennsylvanians. Colonel Reid was dispatched to governor Livingston, to urge on him the necessity of calling out the Jersey militia. These exertions were in a great measure unavailing, except in Philadelphia: 1500 of the inhabitants of which city associated together, and marched to the aid of Washington. Though most of these were accustomed to the habits of a city life, they slept in tents, barns, and sometimes in the open air, during the cold months of December and January. On the capture of general Lee, the command of his army devolved on general Sullivan, who, in obedience to the orders

orders formerly given, joined Washington. About the same time, an addition was made to his force by the arrival of a part of the northern army. The Americans now amounted to about 7,000 men, though, during the retreat through the Jerseys, they were seldom equal to half that number. The two armies were separated from each other by the river Delaware. The British, in the security of conquest, cantoned their troops in Burlington, Bordenton, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross into Pennsylvania by means of ice, which the climate generally forms about that time. On receiving information of their numbers and different cantonments, Washington observed, "Now is the time to clip their wings when they are so spread." Yielding to his native spirit of enterprise, which had hitherto been repressed, he formed the bold design of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking the British posts on its eastern banks.

In the evening of Christmas-day, Wash- 1776.
ington made arrangements for passing over in three divisions, but two of these divisions failed in their attempts to cross, from the quantity of ice which obstructed their passage. The main body, about 2,400 men, began to cross at M. Ronkey's ferry very early in the

morning, but were so retarded by ice, that it was nearly four o'clock before they found themselves in a condition to take up their line of march on the Jersey side. They were formed in two divisions; one was ordered to proceed on the lower or river road, the other on the upper or Pennington road. These having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered, immediately on forming the outguards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though these detachments marched different roads, yet they arrived within three minutes of each other. The outguards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body, being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already taken possession of half of their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of American troops thrown in their way. Thus surrounded, the Hessians laid down their arms. The number which submitted, was 23 officers, and 886 men; between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded: Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington of the Virginia troops, and five

five or six of the Americans, were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Kniphausen, amounting in the whole to about 1,500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or captured, except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordenton. The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining, near the Delaware, superior to the American army. Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to recross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners. These being secured, he recrossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments which had been distributed over New Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick under lord Cornwallis. From this position, they came forward towards Trenton in great force, hoping by a vigorous onset to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat, was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which

had began to dawn from their late success. To risk an action with a superior force in front, and a river in rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party of the British, and by pushing forwards to attack in their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British, on their advance from Princeton, about four P. M. attacked a body of Americans which were posted with three field pieces a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British, being checked at the bridge over Sanpink creek, which runs through that town, by some field pieces, which were posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of the reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires. The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy, and receiving their fire. In this critical hour, two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek, in many places fordable. The British, believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all farther operations, and kept themselves

themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning. The next morning presented a scene as brilliant on the one side, as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, general Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards, for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force, by a circuitous route, to Princeton. This manœuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction, that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position; and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia from falling into the hands of the British. Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and that, of course, the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave an appearance of going to rest, but concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position, they were

a pillar of fire to the one, and a pillar of cloud to the other. Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the northwest, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

Washington reached Princeton early in the morning, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow soldiers in their rear. These consisted of the seventeenth, the fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments of British infantry, and some of the royal artillery, with two field pieces, and three troops of light dragoons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical. Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British,

with

with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either. A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field pieces, which were fired into it. The seat of the Muses became for some time the scene of action. The party which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field pieces, came out, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In the course of the engagement, 60 of the British were killed, and a greater number wounded, and about 300 taken prisoners; the rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. While they were fighting in Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton been conducted, that though, from the critical situation of the two armies, every ear may be supposed to have been open, and the greatest watchfulness to have been employed, yet Washington moved completely off the ground with his whole

whole force, stores, baggage, and artillery, unknown to, and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.

Astonished at these bold and unexpected movements of an enemy supposed to be vanquished, the British instantly retreated with their whole force, and abandoned every post they held to the southward of New York, except Brunswick and Amboy.

CHAP. IV.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

Operations in New Jersey, and Philadelphia.—Battle of Brandywine and Germantown.—Americans retreat to Valley Forge.—Their army in great distress, from the want of necessary supplies.

THE victories of Trenton and Princeton had an extensive influence on the war. Philadelphia was saved for that winter, Jersey was recovered, the drooping spirits of the Americans were revived. The gloomy apprehensions which had lately prevailed, of their being engaged in a hopeless cause, yielded to a confidence in their general and their army, and in the ultimate success of their struggles for liberty and independence. So strong an impulse was given to the recruiting service in every part of the United States, as gave good ground to hope that the commander in chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular army, on the new terms of enlistment.

After the campaign had been thus carried into the month of January, Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. His situation there was far from being eligible. His force for

for some considerable time was trifling, when compared with that of the British; but the enemy and his own countrymen believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the parade of a large army. Washington placed his officers in positions of difficult access, and they kept up a constant communication with each other. This secured them from insult and surprise: while they covered the country,—harassed the foraging parties of the British, and confined them to narrow limits.

1777. The remainder of the winter of 1777 passed over in a light war of skirmishes. These were generally in favour of the Americans. But Washington's views were much more extensive. He hoped that his country, encouraged by the late successes at Trenton and Princeton, would have placed at his disposal a large and efficient army, equal to that opposed to him. To obtain it he urged with great earnestness the advantage of being enabled to undertake decisive operations, before reinforcements to the British army should arrive. Congress, at his instance, passed the requisite resolutions, but these could not be carried into effect without the aid of the state legislatures. The delays incident to this slow mode of doing business, added to the recollection

lection of the sufferings of the troops in the last campaign, retarded the recruiting service. Washington, with infinite reluctance, was obliged to give up his favourite project of an early, active campaign.

In the advance of the spring, when recruits were obtained, a difficulty arose in assembling them from the different states in which they had been enlisted. As the British had possession of the ocean, they could at pleasure transfer the war to any maritime portion of the union. Each state, anxious for its particular safety, claimed protection from the common enemy of the whole. Had they been indulged, the feeble remnant under the commander in chief would have been unequal to any great enterprise. To these partial calls Washington opposed all his authority and influence, and his pointed representations made an impression in favour of primary objects. These were to prevent the British from getting possession of Philadelphia and the Highlands on the Hudson. Both were so nearly of equal importance to their interest, that it was impossible to ascertain which should be preferred by sir William Howe.

In this uncertainty Washington made such an arrangement of his troops as would enable him to oppose either. The eastern troops were

were divided between Tirconduaga and Peckskill, while those from Jersey to the south were encamped at Middlebrook. The American force, collected at this strong and defensible encampment, was nominally between 9 and 10,000 men; but the effective rank and file was about 6,000. More than half of these were raw recruits; and a considerable number of such as had been enlisted in the middle states were foreigners or servants. To encourage the desertion of troops so slightly attached to the American cause, general Howe offered a reward to every soldier who would come over to his army, and an additional compensation to such as would bring their arms with them. To counteract these propositions, Washington recommended to congress to give full pardon to all Americans who would relinquish the British service.

The campaign opened early in June on the part of the British, who advanced towards Philadelphia, as far as Somerset county in New Jersey, but they soon fell back to New Brunswic. After this retreat, sir William Howe endeavored to provoke Washington to an engagement, and left no manœuvre untried that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time, he appeared as if he intended to push on without regarding the army opposed to him. At another, he ac-

curately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found, on which to make an attack that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manœuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprized it was not for the interest of his country, to commit its fortune to a single action. Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army: and Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general immediately marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground, but he was disappointed. Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling an engagement

engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt crossing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route. During the period of these movements, the real designs of general Howe were involved in obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained. Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place; but alternately advancing and retreating. Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased by intelligence which arrived, that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New York from Canada. Apprehending that sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North river, that his movements, which looked southwardly, were calculated to deceive, the American general detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea, that a junction of the two royal armies, near Albany, was intended. Some movements were therefore made by Washington towards Pecks-

Peckskill, and on the other side towards Trenton, while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or south, as the movements of sir William Howe might require.

After the British had left Sandy Hook, they looked into the Delaware, and suddenly again put out to sea, and were not heard of for nearly two or three weeks, except that once or twice they had been seen near the coast, steering southwardly. Charlestown, in South Carolina, was supposed to be their object at one time; at another Philadelphia, by the way of Chesapeak; at another the Highlands of New York, to co-operate with Burgoyne.

The perplexing uncertainty, concerning the destination of the enemy, which embarrassed the movements of Washington, was not done away before the middle of August: soon after which time certain accounts were received, that the British had taken possession of the Chesapeak, and landed as near to Philadelphia as was practicable. While the campaign was doubtful, every disposition was made to defend all the supposed probable points of attack, except Charlestown: this being at a distance of seven or eight hundred miles, could not be assisted by an army marching over land, in time to oppose the enemy conveyed thither

by water. While this idea prevailed, arrangements were made to employ the American army either against the enemy advancing from Albany, or the British posts in New York, with the hope of making reparation for the expected loss of Charlestown.

As soon as the arrival of the British in the Chesapeak was known, Washington ordered the different divisions of his army to proceed towards the head of Elk, and the militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and the northern counties of Virginia, to take the field. He had previously written very pressing letters to the governors of the eastern states, and to the generals in the western parts of these states, to strengthen the northern army opposed to Burgoyne; and even weakened himself by detaching some of his best troops, particularly Morgan's riflemen, on that important service. In the spirit of true patriotism, he diminished his own chance of acquiring fame, that the common cause might be most effectually promoted, by the best disposition of the forces under his command, for simultaneous opposition to Howe and Burgoyne.

Washington passed his army, with every appearance of confidence, through the city of Philadelphia, with a view of making some impression on the disaffected of that city, and

afterwards proceeded towards the head of Elk.

About the same time he directed general Smallwood, with the militia of Maryland and Delaware, and some continental troops, to hang on the rear of the enemy. As a substitute for Morgan's riflemen, who had been ordered to join the northern army, general Maxwell was furnished with a corps of light infantry, amounting to 1000 men, and directed to harass the British on their march through the country. These troops were afterwards reinforced with general Wayne's division. Though the militia did not turn out with that alacrity which might have been expected from the energetic calls of Washington, yet a respectable force was assembled, which imposed on sir William Howe a necessity of proceeding with caution in advancing from his shipping towards Philadelphia. The royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeak on the 3d of September 1777, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the numerous delays which had hitherto wasted the campaign. They advanced with great circumspection and boldness till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted in the vicinity of New Port. Washington soon changed his ground,

and took post on the high ground near Chadd's ford, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest, of the Americans to try their strength in an engagement. Their regular troops were not only inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on the American general to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders. But the bulk of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manœuvres to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded. This took place at Chadd's ford,

on the Brandywine, a small stream which empties itself into Christiana creek, near its confluence with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at daybreak in two columns, commanded by lieutenant general Kniphausen, and by lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's ford, and made a show of passing it in front of the main body of the Americans. At the same time the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, and crossed both its branches about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then marched down on its eastern side, with a view of turning the right wing of their adversaries. This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. General Kniphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford; but did not attempt it until lord Cornwallis, having crossed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Kniphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were forced to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester. The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances which human prudence cannot control. One of these occurred

curred here, and prevented Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was, to have crossed the Brandywine, and attacked Kniphausen, while general Sullivan and lord Stirling should keep earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, Washington received intelligence, which he was obliged to credit, that the column of lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Kniphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army were near 600; the loss of the Americans was twice that number.

Washington made every exertion to repair the loss which had been sustained. The battle of Brandywine was represented as not being decisive. Congress and the people wished to hazard a second engagement for the security of Philadelphia. Howe sought for it, and Washington did not decline it. He therefore advanced as far as the Warren tavern on the Lancaster road, with an intention of meeting his adversary. Near that place both armies were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented

vented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined; they therefore withdrew to a place of safety. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position, near the White Horse tavern on the Lancaster road, down towards the Swedes ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading, to save the stores which had been deposited in that place. Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down by a succession of severe duties. There were in his army above 1,000 men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition.

Though Washington had failed in his object of saving Philadelphia, yet he retained the confidence of congress and his country. With an army inferior in numbers, discipline, and equipments, he delayed the British army thirty days in advancing sixty miles through an open country without fortifications, and the waters of which were every where fordable. Though defeated in one general action,

he kept together his undisciplined and unprovided army, and in less than a week offered battle to his successful adversary. When this was prevented by a storm of rain which ruined his ammunition, at the time that many of his soldiers were without bayonets, he extricated them from the most imminent danger, and maintained a respectable standing. Instead of immediately retiring into winter quarters, he approached the enemy, and encamped on the Skippach road, about twenty miles from Philadelphia and sixteen from Germantown. In these two positions the British army took their stand, in about fifteen days after the battle of Brandywine. From them, especially the last, considerable detachments were sent to Chester and the vicinity, to favor an attempt to open the navigation of the river Delaware, which had been obstructed with great industry and ingenuity by the Americans.

About the time this division of the British army was made, the American army received a reinforcement of 2,500 men, which increased its effective force to 11,000.

Washington conceived that the present moment furnished a fair opportunity for enterprise; he therefore resolved to attack the British in Germantown. Their line of encampment

campment crossed that village at right angles, the left wing extending on the west to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front and flank by the German chasseurs. A battalion of light infantry, and the queen's American rangers, were in front of the right; and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of infantry, was posted at the head of the village.

The Americans moved from their encampment on the Skippach road, in the evening of the 3d of October, with the intention of surprising their adversaries early next morning, and to attack both wings in front and rear at the same time, so as to prevent the several parts from supporting each other. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut hill; while general Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Manatawny road, and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by the lime kiln road. The militia of Maryland and Jersey, under generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the old York road, and to fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord

Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigade, were to form a corps de reserve. The Americans began their attack about sun rise on the 40th regiment, and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps, being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat, lieutenant-colonel Musgrove, with six companies, took post in Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim, of never leaving a post possessed by an enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the meantime general Greene got up with his column, and attacked the right wing. Colonel Mathews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took 110 prisoners; but from the darkness of the day lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged, and having separated from it, was taken prisoner with his whole regiment; and the prisoners which he had previously taken, were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halting of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time in that place inactive. Meanwhile general Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigor. A

sharp

sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 49th regiment, to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was extremely foggy. This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. General Washington was obliged to relinquish the victory he had thought within his grasp, and to turn his whole attention to the security of his army. A retreat to about twenty miles off was made, with the loss of only one piece of artillery. In this engagement the loss of the Americans, including the wounded, and 400 prisoners, was about 1,100. A considerable part of this was occasioned by the 40th regiment, which, from the doors and windows of Chew's large stone house, kept up a constant fire on their uncovered adversaries.

The plan of the battle of Germantown

was

was judicious, and its commencement well conducted; but to ensure its successful execution, a steady co-operation of the several divisions of the assailants was necessary. The numerous enclosures to be passed, and the thickness of the fog, rendered this impossible, especially by troops who were imperfectly disciplined, and without experience.

Congress voted their thanks "to General Washington, for his wise and well concerted attack, and to the officers and soldiers of the army, for their brave exertions on that occasion;" and added, "they were well satisfied, that the best designs, and boldest efforts, may sometimes fail by unforeseen accidents."

In the latter part of the campaign of 1777, in proportion as the loss of Philadelphia became more probable, Washington took every precaution to diminish its value to the enemy. Orders were given for moving the military stores, and the vessels at the wharfs of that city, higher up the Delaware. From the time that the British got possession, every aid consistent with greater objects, was given to the forts constructed on the Delaware, for opposing the British in their attempts to open the navigation of that river. Troops were stationed

stationed on both sides of the Delaware, to prevent the inhabitants from going with their provisions to the market of Philadelphia, and to destroy small foraging parties, sent out to obtain supplies for the royal army. His objects were, to enfeeble the royal army in their operations against the forts on the Delaware, to attack them if circumstances favored, and prevent their receiving supplies from the country.

The British shortly after evacuated Germantown, concentred their force at Philadelphia, and directed their principal attention to the opening of the navigation of the Delaware. This employed them for more than six weeks, and, after a great display of gallantry on both sides, was finally accomplished.

In this discouraging state of public affairs, a letter was addressed to the American general, by the reverend Jacob Duché, late chaplain of congress, and a clergyman of the first rank, for character, piety, and eloquence; the purport of which was to persuade Washington, that farther resistance to Great Britain was hopeless, and would only increase the calamities of their common country, and under this impression to urge him to make the best terms he could with the British commanders,

commanders, and to give up the contest. Such a letter, at such a time, in unison with the sentiments of many desponding citizens, from a person whose character and connexions placed him above all suspicion of treachery, and whose attachment to his native country, America, was unquestionable, could not have failed to make an impression on minds of a feeble texture; but the labored epistle of the honest, but timid divine, received no farther notice, than a verbal message to its author, "That if the contents of his letter had been known, it should have been returned unopened."

While sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprise in Pennsylvania, intelligence arrived, that general Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war to the Americans. Washington soon after received a considerable reinforcement from the northern army, which had accomplished this great event. With this increased force, he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army having succeeded in removing the obstructions of the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprises. Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared

on

on Chesnut hill, in front of and about three miles distant from the right wing of the Americans. On the day following, the British changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after they moved still farther to the right, and made every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected: instead of which, on the morning of the next day, after various marches and countermarches, the British filed off from their right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

While the two armies were manœuvring, in constant expectation of an immediate engagement, Washington rode through every brigade in his army, and, with a firm steady countenance, gave his orders in person how to receive the enemy, and particularly urged them "to place their chief dependence on the bayonet." His position in a military point of view was admirable. He was so sensible of the advantages of it, that the manœuvres of sir William Howe for some days could not allure him from it. In consequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a general engagement.

gagement. Though he ardently wished to be attacked, yet he did not relinquish a position, from which he hoped for reparation for the adversities of the campaign. He could not believe that general Howe, with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with 4,000 men from New York, should come out of Philadelphia only to return. He therefore presumed, that to avoid the disgrace of such a movement, the British commander would, from a sense of military honor, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages. When he found him cautious of engaging, and inclining to his left, a daring design was formed, which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army; this was, to have attempted in the night to surprise Philadelphia.

Three days after the retreat of the British, Washington communicated, in general orders, his intention of retiring into winter quarters. He expressed to his army high approbation of their past conduct, gave an encouraging statement of the prospects of their country, exhorted them to bear the hardships inseparable from their situation, and endeavoured to convince their judgements, that these were

necessary

necessary for the public good, and unavoidable from the distressed situation of the new formed states.

The same care to cut off all communication between the enemy and the country was continued, and the same means employed to secure that object. General Smallwood was detached to Wilmington, to guard the Delaware, colonel Morgan was placed on the lines on the west side of the Schuylkill, and general Armstrong near the old camp at the Whitemarsh, with a respectable force under the command of each, to prevent the country people from carrying provisions to the market in Philadelphia.

Valley Forge, about twenty-five miles distant from Philadelphia, was fixed upon for the winter quarters of the Americans. This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated to give the most extensive security to the country adjacent to Philadelphia. The American army might have been tracked by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground between Whitemarsh and Valley Forge. Under these circumstances they had to sit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. To a want of

clothing was added a want of provisions. For some days there was little less than a famine in the camp. Washington was compelled to make seizures for the support of his army. Congress had authorised him so to do; but he wished the civil authority to manage the delicate business of impressment, and regretted the measure, as subversive of discipline, and calculated to raise in the soldiery a disposition to licentiousness and plunder. To suffer his army to starve, or disband, or to feed them by force, were the only alternatives offered to his choice. Though he exercised these extraordinary powers with equal reluctance and discretion, his lenity was virtually censured by congress "as proceeding from a delicacy in exerting military authority, which might prove prejudicial to the general liberties of America;" at the same time his vigour was condemned by those from whom provisions were forcibly taken. The sound judgment and upright principles of the commander in chief, gave a decided preference to the mode of supplying his army by fair contract. But the necessities thereof, proceeding from bad management in the commissary department, the depreciation of the congress bills of credit, the selfishness of the farmers in preferring British metallic to Amer-

rican paper money, together with the eagerness of congress to starve the British army in Philadelphia, compelled him to extort supplies for his army at the point of the bayonet. In obedience to congress, he issued a proclamation, "calling on all the farmers within seventy miles of head-quarters, to thresh out one half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the residue by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw."

Great were the difficulties Washington had to contend with for feeding and clothing his army; but they were not the only ones which at this time pressed on him. The states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were importunate with him to cover them from the incursions of the enemy. In both there were many discontented individuals, who, regretting their past losses, and present danger from the vicinity of a conquering enemy, were so far misled by their own feelings, as to suspect it to be the fault of general Washington, that the inferior destitute army under his immediate command, had not been as successful as the superior well-supported northern army under general Gates. The legislature, sore from the loss of their capital, on hearing that Washington was about to retire into

winter quarters, presented a remonstrance to congress on that subject, in which they plainly discovered their dissatisfaction with the general. A copy of this being sent to him, he addressed congress in terms very different from his usual style. He stated, "that though every thing in his power had been done for supporting his army, yet their inactivity, arising from their manifold wants, was charged to his account; that the army seldom had provisions for two days in advance; that few of his men had more than one shirt, many only a moiety of one, and some none at all; that soap, vinegar, and such like articles, though allowed by congress, had not been seen in camp for several weeks; that by a field return 2,898 of his army were unfit for duty, because they were barefooted, and otherwise naked; that his whole effective force in camp amounted to no more than 8,200 men fit for duty; that notwithstanding these complicated evils, the remonstrance of the Pennsylvania legislature reprobated the measure of his going into winter quarters, as if its authors thought the soldiers were made of stocks and stones, and as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, circumstanced as his was, to confine a superior one, well appointed, and

every

every way provided for a winter campaign within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover all the circumjacent country from their depredations." He assured the complainers ". that it was much easier to draw up remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow without clothes or blankets."

To the other vexations which crowded upon general Washington at the close of the campaign of 1777, was added one of a peculiar nature. Though he was conscious he had never solicited, and that it was neither from motives of interest nor of ambition he had accepted the command of the army, and that he had, with clean hands and a pure heart, to the utmost of his power, steadily pursued what his best judgment informed him was for the interest of his country; yet he received certain information that a cabal, consisting of some members of congress, and a few general officers of the army, was plotting to supersede him in his command.

The scheme was to obtain the sanction of some of the state legislatures to instruct their delegates in congress to move for an inquiry into the causes of the failures of the campaigns of 1776 and 1777, with the hope that

some intemperate resolutions passed by them, would either lead to the removal of the general, or wound his military feelings so far as to induce his resignation. Anonymous letters, containing high charges against him; and urging the necessity of putting some more energetic officer at the head of the army, were sent to Henry Laurens, president of congress, Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, and others. These were forwarded to general Washington. In his reply to Mr. Laurens, he wrote as follows:—"I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel towards you, for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprized that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice, which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account; but my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause.

"As I have no other view than to promote the public good, and am unambitious of honours not founded in the approbation of my country, I would not desire, in the least de-

gree,

gree, to suppress a free spirit of inquiry into any part of my conduct, that even faction itself may deem reprehensible. The anonymous paper handed you exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it may be submitted to congress. This I am the more inclined to, as the suppression or concealment may possibly involve you in embarrassments hereafter, since it is uncertain how many, or who may be privy to the contents.

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents, which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best which circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances, deserve the imputation of error."

About the same time it was reported that Washington had determined to resign his

command. On this occasion he wrote to a gentleman in New England as follows: "I can assure you, that no person ever heard me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. The same principles that led me to embark in the opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain, operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my services, while they are considered of importance in the present contest; but to report a design of this kind, is among the arts, which those who are endeavouring to effect a change, are practising to bring it to pass. I have said, and still say, that there is no officer in the service of the United States who would return to the sweets of domestic life with more heartfelt joy than I should. But I would have this declaration accompanied with these sentiments, that while the public are satisfied with my endeavours, I mean not to shrink from the cause; but the moment her voice, not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the wearied traveller retired to rest."

These machinations did not abate the ardor of Washington in the common cause. His patriotism was too solid to be shaken either by envy or ingratitude: nor was the smallest effect produced in diminishing his well-

well-earned reputation. Zeal the most active, and services the most beneficial, and at the same time disinterested, had rivetted him in the affections of his country and the army. Even the victorious troops under general Gates, though comparison highly flattering to their vanity, had been made between them and the army of Pennsylvania, clung to Washington as their political saviour. The resentment of the people was generally excited against those who were supposed to be engaged in, or friendly to the scheme of appointing a new commander in chief to the American army.

CHAP. V.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

Washington makes arrangements for the campaign of 1778.—Crosses the Delaware.—Battle of Monmouth.—Washington sooths the irritation between the French and American Officers at Rhode island.—Dissuades from an expedition against Canada.

GENERAL Washington devoted the short respite from his field duty, which followed the encampment of the army at Valley Forge, to prepare them for an early and active cam-
1778. paign in the year 1778. He laboured to impress on congress the necessity of having in the field a regular army, at least equal to that of the enemy. He transmitted to the individual states a return of the troops they had severally furnished. While this exhibited to each its deficiency, it gave the general an opportunity to urge on them, respectively, the necessity of completing their quotas.

Congress deputed a committee of their body to reside in camp, and, in concert with general Washington, to investigate the state of the army, and to report such reforms as might be deemed expedient. This committee, known by the name of the committee

of

of arrangement, repaired to Valley Forge in January 1778. Washington laid before them 1778.
a statement, in which a comprehensive view of the army was taken, and in which he minutely pointed out what he deemed necessary for the correction of existing abuses, and for the advancement of the service. He recommended, as essentially necessary, that, in addition to present compensation, provision should be made, by half pay and a pensionary establishment, for the support of the officers, so as to render their commissions valuable. He pointed out the insufficiency of the pay (especially in its present state of depreciation) for any decent subsistence; the sacrifices they had already made; and the unreasonableness of expecting that they would continue patiently to bear such an over proportion of the common calamities growing out of the necessary war in which all were equally engaged.

The many resignations that had already taken place, and the probability that more would follow, to the great injury of the service; the impossibility of keeping up a strict discipline among officers, whose commissions, in a pecuniary view, were so far from being worth holding, that they were the means of impoverishing them; these, and other

other weighty considerations, were accompanied with a declaration by general Washington, "that he neither could, nor would receive the smallest benefit, from the proposed establishment, and that he had no other inducement in urging it, but a full conviction of its utility and propriety."

In the same statement, the commander in chief pointed out to the committee of congress, "the defects in the quartermaster's departments, connected with the support and comfort of the army; and also urged the necessity of each state completing its quota, by draughts from the militia." The statement concludes with these impressive words—"Upon the whole, gentlemen, I doubt not you are fully impressed with the defects of our present military system, and with the necessity of speedy and decisive measures, to place it on a satisfactory footing. The disagreeable picture I have given you of the wants and sufferings of the army, and the discontent reigning among the officers, is a just representation of evils equally melancholy and important; and, unless effectual remedies be applied without loss of time, the most alarming and ruinous consequences are to be apprehended."

The

The committee were fully impressed with the correctness of the observations made by the commander in chief, and grounded their report upon them. A general concurrence of sentiment took place. Congress passed resolutions, but with various limitations, in favour of half pay to their officers for seven years after the war, and gave their sanction to the other measures suggested by Washington, and recommended by their committee. But from the delays incidental to large bodies, either deliberating upon, or executing public business, much time necessarily elapsed before the army received the benefits of the proposed reforms, and in the meantime their distresses approached to such a height as threatened their immediate dissolution. Respect for their commander, attached both officers and soldiers so strongly to his person, as enabled him to keep them together under privations almost too much for human nature to bear. Their effective force throughout the winter was little more than 5,000 men, though their numbers, on paper, exceeded 19,000. It was well for them that the British made no attempt to disturb them while in this destitute condition. In that case the Americans could not have kept their camp, for want of provisions, nor could they have

have retreated from it in that inclement season, without the certain loss of some thousands, who were barefooted, and otherwise almost naked. Neither could they have risked an action with any probable hope of success, or without hazarding the most serious consequences.

The historians of the American revolution will detail the particulars of a treaty, entered into about this time, between France and the United States, and also that thereupon the government of Great Britain offered terms to the Americans, equal to all they had asked for, anterior to their declaration of independence. The first certain intelligence of these offers of Great Britain, was received by general Washington, in a letter from major general Tryon, the British governor of New York, enclosing the conciliatory proposals, and recommending, "that they should be circulated by general Washington among the officers and privates of his army." Instead of complying with this extraordinary request, he forwarded the whole to congress. The offers of Great Britain, which, if made in due time, would have prevented the dismemberment of the empire, were promptly rejected. The day of their rejection, a resolution, formerly recommended by Washington, was adopted

by

by congress, in which they urged upon the different states to pardon, under certain limitations, such of their misguided citizens as had levied war against the United States.

Copies of this were struck off in English and German, and general Washington was directed to take measures for circulating them among the American levies in the British army. He immediately enclosed them in a letter to Tryon, in which he acknowledged the receipt of his letter, covering the British conciliatory bills, and requesting their circulation in the American army; and, in the way of retort, requested his instrumentality in making the resolves of congress known to the Americans in the British army, on whom they were intended to operate. About this time sir William Howe resigned the command of the British army, and returned to Great Britain. His successor, sir Henry Clinton, had scarcely entered on the duties of his office, when he received orders to evacuate Philadelphia. This was deemed expedient, from an apprehension that it would be a dangerous position, in case a French fleet, as was expected, should arrive in the Delaware, to co-operate with the Americans.

But the object, or course of the army, could not be precisely ascertained. Their preparations equally

equally denoted an expedition to the south—an embarkation of their whole army for New York—or a march to that city through New Jersey. In the two first cases Washington had not the means of annoyance; but as the probability of the last daily increased, he directed his chief attention to that point.

General Maxwell, with the Jersey brigade, was ordered over the Delaware, to take post about Mount Holly, and to co-operate with general Dickinson, at the head of the New Jersey militia, in obstructing the progress of the royal army, till time should be gained for general Washington to overtake them.

The British crossed the Delaware to Gloucester point on the 18th of June. The Americans, in four days after, at Corryels ferry. The general officers of the latter, on being asked what line of conduct they thought most advisable, had previously, and with one consent, agreed to attempt nothing till the evacuation of Philadelphia was completed; but after the Delaware was crossed, there was a diversity of sentiment respecting the measures proper to be pursued. General Lee, who, having been exchanged, had joined the army, was of opinion, that the United States, in consequence of their late foreign connexions, were secure of their independence, unless

unless their army was defeated—and that, under such circumstances, it would be criminal to hazard an action, without some prospect of a decided advantage. Though the numbers in both armies were nearly equal, and about 10,000 effective men in each, he attributed so much to the superiority of British discipline, as made him apprehensive of the issue of an engagement on equal ground. These sentiments were sanctioned by the voice of a great majority of the general officers. Washington was nevertheless strongly inclined to risk an action. Though cautious, he was enterprising, and could not readily believe that the chances of war were so much against him as to threaten consequences of the alarming magnitude which had been predicted. There was a general concurrence in a proposal for strengthening the corps on the left flank of the enemy with 1500 men, to improve any partial advantages that might offer, and that the main body should preserve a relative situation, for acting as circumstances might require.

When sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allen town, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course for Staten island, to draw nearer the sea coast, and push on towards Sandy Hook. Washington, on

receiving intelligence that sir Henry was proceeding in that direction towards Monmouth Court House, dispatched 1000 men, under general Wayne; and sent the marquis de la Fayette to take command of the advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, as before stated, having been lately exchanged, and had joined the army, was offered this command, but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, in the rear, and the baggage in the front. Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent general Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole, and followed himself with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent forwards to Lee, "to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary." When Washington had marched about five miles, he found the advanced corps retreating, by Lee's orders, without having made any opposition

opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure; Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered colonel Stewart's and lieutenant-colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked, if he would command on that ground, to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy; to which he replied, "Your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition. A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army and the two battalions which general Washington had halted. These stood their ground till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received, gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the American army in the

wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this some cannon were placed by lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position on the right of lord Stirling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success, for Greene, with artillery, disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired, and took the position which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered general Poor to move round upon their right, and general Woodford to their left, but they could not get within reach before it was dark. These remained on the ground which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning, and the main body lay on their arms in the field, to be ready for supporting them. General Washington reposed himself in his cloak under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the

next day. But these hopes were frustrated—the British troops marched away in the night in such silence, that general Poor, though he was very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them four officers and about forty privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. Their other wounded were carried off.

The British pursued their march without further interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was about 250; that of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, about 350.

It is probable that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action; but the latter could not brook the expressions used by the former, at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were—

First, for disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions.

Secondly, for misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

Thirdly, for disrespect to the commander in chief, in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court martial, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States for one year; but the second charge was softened by the court martial, who, in their award, found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and, in some few instances, a disorderly retreat.

When congress was informed of these events, they resolved, unanimously, "that their thanks be given to general Washington, for the activity with which he marched from the camp at Valley Forge, in pursuit of the enemy; for his distinguished exertions in forming the line of battle; and for his great good conduct in leading on the attack, and gaining the battle of Monmouth, over the British grand army under sir Henry Clinton, in their march from Philadelphia to New York."

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, Washington took post at the White Plains, and remained in their vicinity till autumn was far advanced,

advanced, and then retired to Middlebrook, in New Jersey. During this period nothing of more importance occurred than skirmishes, in which Washington was not particularly engaged. He was nevertheless fully employed.

His mild, conciliatory manners, and the most perfect subjection of his passions to reason, together with the soundness of his judgment, enabled him to serve his country with equal effect, though with less splendour, than is usually attached to military exploits.

The French fleet, the expectation of which had induced the evacuation of Philadelphia, arrived too late for attacking the British in the Delaware. It was also deemed unadvisable to attempt New York. But the British posts on Rhode island were judged proper objects of a conjunct expedition with the sea and land forces of France and America. This being resolved upon, general Sullivan was appointed to conduct the operations of the Americans. When the preparations for commencing the attack were nearly completed, a British fleet appeared in sight. D'Estaing, who commanded the French fleet, put out to sea to engage them; but a storm came on, which crippled both fleets to such an extent, as induced the one to go to New York, and the

other to Boston, for the purpose of being repaired. While the fleets were out of sight, Sullivan had commenced the siege, and flattered himself that a few days co-operation of the returned French ships, could not fail of crowning him with success. The determination of D'Estaing to retire to Boston, instead of co-operating in the siege, excited the greatest alarm in Sullivan's army. By this dereliction of the original plan, the harbours of Rhode island were left open for reinforcements to the British, which might easily be poured in from their head quarters at New York. Instead of anticipated conquests, Sullivan had reason to fear for the safety of his army. Irritated at the departure of D'Estaing, he expressed in general orders to his army, "his hope that the event would prove America able to procure that by her own arms, which her allies refused to assist in obtaining."

These expressions were considered as imputing, to D'Estaing and the French nation, a disinclination to promote the interests of the United States. When intreaties failed of persuading D'Estaing to return to the siege, a paper was drawn up and signed by the principal officers of the Americans, and sent to him, in which they protested against his taking the

fleet

fleet to Boston, " as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intentions of his most christian majesty, and the interest of his nation; destructive to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance between the two nations." So much discontent prevailed, that serious apprehensions were entertained, that the means of repairing the French fleet would not be readily obtained.

Washington foresaw the evils likely to result from the general and mutual irritation which prevailed; and exerted all his influence to calm the minds of both parties.

He had a powerful coadjutor in the marquis de la Fayette, who was as deservedly dear to the Americans as to the French. His first duties were due to his king and country; but he loved America, and was so devoted to the commander in chief, as to enter into all his views, and second his conciliatory measures with truly filial affection.

Washington also wrote to general Heath, who commanded at Boston; and to Sullivan and Greene, who commanded at Rhode island. In his letter to the former, he stated his fears, " that the departure of the French fleet from Rhode island, at so critical a moment, would not only weaken the confidence of

of the people in their new allies, but produce such prejudice and resentment as might prevent their giving the fleet, in its present distress, such zealous and effectual assistance as was demanded by the exigence of affairs, and the true interests of America;" and added, "that it would be sound policy to combat these effects, and to give the best construction of what had happened, and at the same time to exert ourselves to put the French fleet as soon as possible in a condition to defend itself and be useful to us. The departure of the fleet from Rhode island is not yet publicly announced here; but when it is, I intend to ascribe it to necessity, produced by the damage received in the late storm. This, it appears to me, is the idea which ought to be generally propagated. As I doubt not the force of these reasons will strike you equally with myself, I recommend to you to use your utmost influence to palliate and soften matters—To induce those whose business it is to provide succours of every kind for the fleet, and to employ their utmost zeal and activity in doing it. It is our duty to make the best of our misfortunes, and not to suffer passion to interfere with our interest and the public good."

In a letter to general Sullivan he observed, "The

"The disagreement between the army under your command and the fleet, has given me singular uneasiness. The continent at large is concerned in our cordiality, and it should be kept up by all means consistent with our honour and policy. First impressions are generally longest retained, and will serve to fix, in a great degree, our national character with the French. In our conduct towards them, we should remember, that they are a people old in war, and very strict in military etiquette, and apt to take fire when others scarcely seem warmed. Permit me to recommend, in the most particular manner, the cultivation of harmony and good agreement, and your endeavours to destroy that ill humour that may have found its way among the officers. It is of the utmost importance too, that the soldiers and the people should know nothing of this misunderstanding, or, if it has reached them, that means may be used to stop its progress, and prevent its effects." In a letter to general Greene he said, "I have not now time to take notice of the several arguments which were made use of, for and against the count's quitting the harbour of Newport, and sailing for Boston. Right or wrong, it will probably disappoint our sanguine expectations of success; and, which I deem a still worse consequence,

quence, I fear it will sow the seeds of dissension and distrust between us and our new allies, unless the most prudent measures be taken to suppress the feuds and jealousies that have already arisen. I depend much on your temper and influence to conciliate that animosity which subsists between the American and French officers in our service. I beg you will take every measure to keep the protest entered into by the general officers from being made public. Congress, sensible of the ill consequences that will flow from our differences being known to the world, have passed a resolve to that purpose. Upon the whole, my dear sir, you can conceive my meaning better than I can express it, and I therefore fully depend on your exerting yourself to heal all private animosities between our principal officers and the French, and to prevent all illiberal expressions and reflections that may fall from the army at large."

Washington also improved the first opportunity of recommencing his correspondence with count D'Estaing, in a letter to him, which, without noticing the disagreements that had taken place, was well calculated to sooth every angry sensation which might have rankled in his mind. In the course of a short correspondence, the irritation which threatened

threatened serious mischief entirely gave way to returning good humour and cordiality.

In another case, no less than that which has been just related, the correct judgment of Washington proved serviceable to his country. In the last half of the year 1778, when the most active part of the campaign was over, congress decided on a magnificent plan for the conquest of Canada. This was to be attempted in 1779, by land and water on the side of the United States, and by a fleet and army from France. The plan was proposed, considered, and agreed to, before Washington was informed of it. He was then desired to write to Dr. Franklin, the American minister at Paris, to interest him in securing the proposed co-operation of France. In reply to the communications of congress, he respectfully stated several difficulties which opposed the execution of their wishes, and concluded by proposing, that he should for a short time leave his army, and wait upon congress. This was agreed to, and a committee of their body was appointed to confer with him on the subject. The result was, that the proposed expedition against Canada was given up by those who, after repeated deliberations, had resolved upon it.

CHAP. VI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

Discontents in the Jersey line composed by Washington. —British invade Connecticut.—Sullivan attacks the six nations of Indians.—General Wayne reduces Stoney Point.—Major Lee surprises Paulus Hook.

THE years 1779 and 1780 passed away in the northern states without any of those great military exploits which enliven the pages of history; but they were years of anxiety and distress, which called for all the passive valour, the sound practical judgment, and the conciliatory address, for which Washington was so eminently distinguished. The states, yielding to the pleasing delusion, that their alliance with France placed their independence beyond the reach of accident, and that Great Britain, despairing of success, would speedily abandon the contest, relaxed in their preparations for a vigorous prosecution of the war. To these ungrounded hopes, Washington opposed the whole weight of his influence. In his correspondence with congress and the governors of particular states, he pointed out the fallacy of the prevailing opinion, that peace was near at hand, and insisted on the necessity of raising, equipping, and supporting a force sufficient for active

active operations. He particularly urged, that the annual arrangements for the army should be made so early, that the recruits for the year should assemble at head quarters on the 1st of January. But such was the torpor of the public mind, that, notwithstanding these representations, it was not until the 23d of January 1779, that congress passed resolu- 1779.
tions, authorizing the commander in chief to reinlist the army, nor until the 9th of the following March that the requisitions were made on the several states for their quotas. The military establishment for 1780 was later, for it was not agreed upon till the 9th of February, nor were the men required before the 1st of April. Thus, when armies ought to have been in the field, nothing more was done than a grant of requisite authority for raising them.

The depreciation of the current paper money had advanced so rapidly, as to render the daily pay of an officer unequal to his support. This produced serious discontents in the army. An order was given in May 1779, for the Jersey brigade to march by regiments to join the western army. In answer to this order a letter was received from general Maxwell, stating, that the officers of the first regiment had delivered to the colonel a remonstrance,

remonstrance, addressed to the legislature of New Jersey, in which they declared, "that unless former complaints on the deficiency of their pay obtained immediate attention, they were to be considered, at the end of three days, as having resigned their commissions; and on that contingency they requested the legislature to appoint other officers in their stead." General Washington, who was strongly attached to the army, and knew their virtue —their sufferings—and also the justice of their complaints, immediately comprehended the ruinous consequences likely to result from the measures they had adopted. After serious deliberation, he wrote a letter to general Maxwell, to be laid before the officers. In the double capacity of their friend and their commander, he made a forcible address both to their pride and their patriotism. "There is nothing," he observed, "which has happened in the course of the war, that has given me so much pain as the remonstrance you mention from the officers of the first Jersey regiment. I cannot but consider it as a hasty and imprudent step, which, on more cool consideration, they will themselves condemn. I am very sensible of the inconveniencies under which the officers of the army labour; and I hope they do me the justice to believe, that

my endeavours to procure them relief are incessant. There is more difficulty, however, in satisfying their wishes than perhaps they are aware of. Our resources have been hitherto very limited. The situation of our money is no small embarrassment, for which, though there are remedies, they cannot be the work of a moment. Government is not insensible of the merits and sacrifices of the officers, nor unwilling to make a compensation, but is very much straitened in the means. Great allowances ought to be made on this account for any delay and seeming backwardness which may appear. Some of the states, indeed, have done as generously as it is in their power; and if others have been less expeditious, it ought to be ascribed to some peculiar cause, which a little time, aided by example, will remove. The patience and perseverance of the army have been under every disadvantage, such as do them the highest honour both at home and abroad, and have inspired me with an unlimited confidence in their virtue, which has consoled me amidst every perplexity and reverse of fortune to which our affairs in a struggle of this nature were necessarily exposed. Now that we have made so great a progress to the attainment of the end we have in view, so that we can-

not fail, without a most shameful desertion of our own interests, any thing like a change of conduct would imply a very unhappy change of principles, and a forgetfulness as well of what we owe to ourselves as to our country. Did I suppose it possible this could be the case even in a single regiment of the army, I should be mortified and chagrined beyond expression. I should feel it as a wound given to my own honour, which I consider as embarked with that of the army at large. But this I believe to be impossible. Any corps that was about to set an example of the kind, should weigh well the consequences, and no officer, of common discernment and sensibility, would hazard them. If they should stand alone, what would be their feelings, on reflecting that they had held themselves out to the world in a point of light inferior to the rest of the army. Or if their example should be followed and become general, how could they console themselves for having been the foremost in bringing ruin and disgrace upon their country. They would remember that the army would share a double portion of the general infamy and distress, and that the character of an American officer would become as despicable as it is now glorious.

"I confess the appearances in the present instance

instance are disagreeable; but I am convinced they seem to mean more than they really do. The Jersey officers have not been outdone by any others, in the qualities either of citizens or soldiers; and I am confident no part of them would seriously intend any thing that would be a stain on their former reputation. The gentlemen cannot be in earnest; they have only reasoned wrong about the means of obtaining a good end; and, on consideration, I hope and flatter myself they will renounce what must appear improper. At the opening of a campaign, when under marching orders for an important service, their own honour, their duty to the public and to themselves, and a regard of military propriety, will not suffer them to persist in a measure which would be a violation of them all. It will even wound their delicacy, coolly to reflect that they have hazarded a step which has an air of dictating terms to their country, by taking advantage of the necessity of the moment.

"The declaration they have made to the state at so critical a time, that unless they obtain relief in the short period of three days they must be considered out of the service, has very much that aspect; and the seeming relaxation of continuing, until the state can

have a reasonable time to provide othe officers, will be thought only a superficial vei. I am now to request that you will conve my sentiments to the gentlemen concerne and endeavour to make them sensible th they are in an error. The service for whic the regiment was intended, will not admit delay. It must at all events march c Monday morning, in the first place to th camp, and further directions will be giv when it arrives. I am sure I shall not b mistaken in expecting a prompt and cheerfu obedience."

The officers did not explicitly recede fro their claims, but were brought round so fa as to continue in service. In an address to general Washington, they declared, thei unhappiness, that any step of theirs should give him pain, but alleged in justification o themselves, " that repeated memorials ha been presented to their legislature, which ha been neglected;" and added, " we have los all confidence in that body. Reason and ex perience forbid that we should have any Few of us have private fortunes, many hav families, who already are suffering ever thing that can be conceived from an ungrate ful country. Are we then to suffer all the in conveniencies, fatigues, and dangers of

militar

military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessaries at home, and that without the most distant prospect of reward? for our pay is now only nominal. We are sensible that your excellency cannot wish nor desire this from us.

"We are sorry that you should imagine we meant to disobey orders. It was, and still is, our determination to march with our regiment, and to do the duty of officers, until the legislature should have a reasonable time to appoint others, but no longer.

"We beg leave to assure your excellency, that we have the highest sense of your ability and virtues—that executing your orders has ever given us pleasure—that we love the service, and we love our country; but when that country is so lost to virtue and justice as to forget to support its servants, it then becomes their duty to retire from its service."

The ground adopted by the officers for their justification was such as interdicted a resort to stern measures; at the same time, a compliance with their demands was impossible. In this embarrassing situation, Washington took no other notice of their letter, than to declare to the officers, through general

have a reasonable time to provide other officers, will be thought only a superficial veil. I am now to request that you will convey my sentiments to the gentlemen concerned, and endeavour to make them sensible that they are in an error. The service for which the regiment was intended, will not admit of delay. It must at all events march on Monday morning, in the first place to this camp, and further directions will be given when it arrives. I am sure I shall not be mistaken in expecting a prompt and cheerful obedience."

The officers did not explicitly recede from their claims, but were brought round so far as to continue in service. In an address to general Washington, they declared, their unhappiness, that any step of theirs should give him pain, but alleged in justification of themselves, "that repeated memorials had been presented to their legislature, which had been neglected;" and added, "we have lost all confidence in that body. Reason and experience forbid that we should have any. Few of us have private fortunes, many have families, who already are suffering every thing that can be conceived from [illegible] ful country. Are w[illegible] to conveniencies, [illegible]

military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessaries at home, and that without the most distant prospect of reward? for our pay is now only nominal. We are sensible that your excellency cannot wish nor desire this from us.

"We are sorry that you should imagine we meant to disobey orders. It was, and still is, our determination to march with our regiment, and to do the duty of officers, until the legislature should have a reasonable time to appoint others, but no longer.

"We beg leave to assure your excellency, that we have the highest sense of your ability and virtues—that executing your orders has ever given us pleasure—that we love the service, and we love our country; but when that country is so lost to virtue and justice as to forget to support its servants, it then becomes their duty to retire from its service."

The ground adopted by the officers for their justification was such as interdicted a resort to stern measures; at the same time, a compliance with their demands was impossible. In this embarrassing situation, Washington took no other notice of their letter, than to declare to the officers, through general

Maxwell, " that while they continued to do their duty, he should only regret the part they had taken." The legislature of New Jersey, roused by these events, made some partial provision for their troops. The officers withdrew their remonstrance, and continued to perform their duty.

The consequences likely to result from the measures adopted by the Jersey officers being parried by the good sense and prudence of general Washington, he improved the event when communicated to congress, by urging on them the absolute necessity of some general and adequate provision for the officers of their army, and observed, " that the distresses in some corps are so great, either where they were not until lately attached to any particular state, or where the state has been less provident, that officers have solicited even to be supplied with the clothing destined for the common soldiery, coarse and unsuitable as it was. I had not power to comply with the request.

" The patience of men, animated by a sense of duty and honour, will support them to a certain point, beyond which it will not go. I doubt not congress will be sensible of the danger of an extreme in this respect, and will pardon my anxiety to obviate it."

The members of congress were of different opinions respecting their military arrangements. While some were in unison with the general, for a permanent national army, well equipped and amply supported, others were apprehensive of danger to their future liberties from such establishments, and gave a preference to enlistments for short periods, not exceeding a year. These also were partial to state systems and occasional calls of the militia, instead of a numerous regular force, at the disposal of congress and the commander in chief. From the various aspects of public affairs, and the frequent change of members composing the national legislature, sometimes one party predominated, and sometimes another. On the whole, the support received by Washington was far short of what œconomy as well as sound policy required.

The American army, in these years, was not only deficient in clothing, but in food. The seasons both in 1779 and 1780 were unfavourable to the crops. The labours of the farmers had often been interrupted by calls for militia duty. The current paper money was so depreciated, as to be deemed no equivalent for the productions of the soil.

So great were the necessities of the Ame-

rican army, that Washington was obliged to call on the magistrates of the adjacent counties for specified quantities of provisions, to be supplied in a given number of days; at other times, he was compelled to send out detachments of his troops, to take provisions at the point of the bayonet from the citizens. This expedient at length failed, for the country in the vicinity of the army afforded no further supplies. These impressments were not only injurious to the morals and discipline of the soldiers, but tended to alienate the affections of the people. Much of the support which the American general had previously experienced from the inhabitants, proceeded from the difference of treatment they received from their countrymen, compared with what they suffered from the British. The general, whom the inhabitants hitherto regarded as their protector, had now no alternative, but to disband his troops or to support them by force. His situation was eminently embarrassing. The army looked to him for provisions, the inhabitants for protection of their property. To supply the one, and not offend the other, seemed little less than an impossibility. To preserve order and subordination in an army of free republicans, even when well fed, paid, and clothed, would have been a work

a work of difficulty; but to retain them in service, and restrain them with discipline, when destitute not only of the comforts, but often of the necessaries, of life, required address and abilities of such magnitude as are rarely found in human nature. In this choice of difficulties, Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted it with so much discretion, as to command the approbation both of the soldiery and of the citizens.

With an army so badly provided, and so deficient in numbers, nothing of decisive importance could be attempted by the American general. The whole force under his immediate command, did not exceed 13,000; while the British, strongly fortified in New York and Rhode island, amounted to 16 or 17,000. These were supported by a powerful fleet, which, by commanding the coasts and the rivers, furnished easy means for concentrating their forces in any given point, before any part of the American army could effectually interpose the least check to their progress. This disparity was particularly striking in the movements of the two armies in the vicinity of the Hudson. Divisions of both were frequently posted on each side of that noble river. While the British could cross directly over, and unite their forces in any enterprise, the Americans could not safely effect a correspondent

respondent junction, unless they took a considerable circuit to avoid the British shipping.

To preserve West Point and its dependencies was a primary object with Washington. To secure this, he was obliged to refuse pressing applications from the neighbouring states, for large detachments from the continental army, for their local defence. Early in the year, sir H. Clinton made some movements up the North river, which indicated an intention of attacking the posts in the highlands; but in proportion as these were threatened, Washington concentrated his force for their defence. This was done so effectually, that no serious direct attempt was made upon them. Clinton, hoping to allure the Americans from these fortresses, sent detachments to burn and lay waste the towns on the coasts of Connecticut. This was done extensively. Norwalk, Fairfield, and New London were destroyed. Washington, adhering to the principle of sacrificing small objects to secure great ones, gave no more aid to the suffering inhabitants than was compatible with the security of West Point. Though the force under the immediate command of general Washington throughout the campaign of 1779, was unequal to any great undertaking, yet his active mind sought for and embraced such opportunities.

tunities for offensive operations as might be attempted without hazarding too much. The principal expedition of this kind was directed against the six nations of Indians who inhabited the fertile country between the western settlements of New York, Pennsylvania, and the lakes of Canada. These, from their vicinity to, and intercourse with, the white people, had attained a degree of civilization exceeding what was usual among savages. To them many refugee tories had fled, and directed them to the settlements, which they had laid waste, and at the same time massacred the inhabitants. In the early period of Washington's life, while he was commander of the Virginia troops, he had ample experience of the futility of forts for defence against Indians, and of the superior advantage of carrying offensive operations into their towns and settlements. An invasion of the country of the six nations being resolved upon, the commander in chief bestowed much thought on the best mode of conducting it. The instructions he gave to general Sullivan, who was appointed to this service, were very particular, and much more severe than was usual with Washington, but not more so than retaliation justified, or policy recommended. Sullivan with a considerable force penetrated into

into the country of the Indians, in three directions, laid waste their crops, and burnt their towns. His success was decisive, and in a great measure secured the future peace of the frontier settlements. The late residence of the savages was rendered so far uninhabitable, as to reduce them to the necessity of seeking an asylum in the more remote western country.

While the British were laying waste Connecticut, general Washington, after reconnoitring the ground in person, planned an expedition against Stoney Point, a commanding hill projecting far into the Hudson, on the top of which a fort had been erected, which was garrisoned with about 600 men. One of the motives for assaulting this work, was the hope that, if successful, it might induce the detachment which had invaded Connecticut, to desist from their devastations, and to return to the defence of their own outposts. The enterprise was assigned to general Wayne, who completely succeeded in reducing the fort and capturing its garrison.

Sir Henry Clinton, on receiving intelligence of general Wayne's success, relinquished his views on Connecticut, and made a forced march to Dobb's ferry, twenty-six miles above New York. The reduction of Stoney Point

Point was speedily followed by the surprise of the British garrison at Paulus Hook. This was first conceived and planned by major Lee. On being submitted to general Washington he favoured the enterprise, but withheld his full assent till he was satisfied of the practicability of a retreat, of which serious doubts were entertained. Lee, with 300 men, entered the fort about three o'clock in the morning, and, with very inconsiderable loss, took 159 prisoners, and brought them off in safety from the vicinity of large bodies of the enemy.

The policy adopted by Washington for avoiding all hazardous offensive operations in the present unprovided state of his feeble army, was strongly enforced by a well-founded expectation that a French fleet would appear on the coast in the course of the year 1779. Policy required that the American army should be reserved for a co-operation with their allies. The fleet, as expected, did arrive, but in the vicinity of Georgia. The French troops, in conjunction with the southern army, commanded by general Lincoln, made an unsuccessful attempt on the British post in Savannah. This town had been reduced in December 1778 by colonel Campbell, who had proceeded so far as to re-establish British

authority

authority in the state of Georgia. Soon after the defeat of the combined forces before Savannah, and the departure of the French fleet from the coast, sir Henry Clinton proceeded with the principal part of his army to attack Charlestown, and confined his views in New York to defensive operations.

The campaign of 1779 terminated in the northern states, as has been related, without any great events on either side. Washington defeated all the projects of the British for getting possession of the highlands. The Indians were scourged, and a few brilliant strokes kept the public mind from despondence. The Americans went into winter quarters when the month of December was far advanced. These were chosen for the convenience of wood, water, and provisions, and with an eye to the protection of the country. To this end the army was thrown into two grand divisions. The northern was put under the command of general Heath, and stationed with a view to the security of West Point and the adjacent country. The other retired to Morristown in New Jersey. In this situation, which was well calculated to secure the country to the southward of New York, Washington, with the principal division of his army, took their station for the winter.

The

The season following their retirement was uncommonly severe. The British in New York and Staten island no longer enjoyed the security which their insular situation usually afforded. The former suffered from the want of fuel and other supplies from the country. To add to their difficulties, Washington so disposed his troops, as to give the greatest possible obstruction to the communication between the British garrison and such of the inhabitants without their lines as were disposed, from various motives, to supply their wants. This brought on a partisan war, in which individuals were killed, but without any national effect. Had general Washington been supported as he desired, the weakness of the British army, in consequence of their large detachments to the southward, in conjunction with the severity of the winter, would have given him an opportunity for indulging his native spirit of enterprise; but he durst not attempt any thing on a grand scale, for his army was not only inferior in number to that opposed to him, but so destitute of clothing as to be unequal to a winter campaign.

CHAP. VII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

General Sullivan invades Staten Island.—General Washington gives an opinion against attempting to defend Charlestown.—General Kniphausen invades New Jersey.—Washington guards his stores, and also West Point.—French fleet arrives.—The siege of New York proposed.—The arrival of a British fleet deranges all the plans for a combined operation.

1780. THE military establishment for the year 1780 was nominally 35,000; but these were not voted till the 9th of February, and were not required to be in camp before the 1st of April following. Notwithstanding these embarrassments, the active mind of Washington looked round for an opportunity of deriving some advantage from the present exposed situation of his adversary. From recent intelligence, he supposed that an attack on about 1,200 British, posted on Staten island, might be advantageously made, especially in its present state of union with the continent by an unbroken body of solid ice. The prospect of success depended on the chance of a surprise, and, if this failed, of reducing the enemy, though retired within their fortifications, before reinforcements could arrive from New York.

York. The vigilance of the commanding officer prevented the first, and the latter could not be depended on; for, contrary to intelligence first received, the communication between the island and the city, though difficult, was practicable. The works were too strong for an assault, and relief too near to admit the delays of a siege. Lord Stirling, with 2,500 men, entered the island on the night of the 14th of January, 1780. An alarm was 1780.
instantly and generally communicated to all the posts, and a boat dispatched to New York, to communicate intelligence and to solicit aid. The Americans, after some slight skirmishes, seeing no prospect of success, and apprehending that a reinforcement from New York might endanger their safety, very soon commenced their retreat. This was effected without any considerable loss. From the intenseness of the cold, and deficiency of warm clothing, several were frost bitten.

Soon after this event, the siege of Charleston commenced, and was so vigorously carried on by sir Henry Clinton, as to effect the surrender of that place on the 12th of May. Washington, at the distance of more than 800 miles, could have no personal agency in defending that most important southern mart. What was in his power was done; for he

weakened himself by detaching, from the army under his own immediate command, the troops of North Carolina, the new levies of Virginia, and the remnants of the southern cavalry. Though Washington had never been in Charleston, and was without any personal knowledge of its harbour, yet he gave an opinion respecting it which evinced the soundness of his practical judgement. In every other case the defence of towns had been abandoned so far as to risk no armies for that purpose; but in South Carolina general Lincoln, for reasons that were satisfactory to his superiors, adopted a different line of conduct. Four continental frigates were ordered to the defence of Charleston, and stationed within its bar, and a considerable state marine force co-operated with them. This new mode of defence was the more readily adopted, on the generally received idea that this marine force could be so disposed within the bar as to make effectual opposition to the British ships attempting to cross it. In the course of the siege this was found to be impracticable, and all ideas of disputing the passage of the bar were given up. This state of things being communicated by lieutenant-colonel John Laurens to Washington, the general replied, "the impracticability of defending

fending the bar, I fear, amounts to the loss of the town and garrison. At this distance it is impossible to judge for you. I have the greatest confidence in general Lincoln's prudence, but it really appears to me that the propriety of attempting to defend the town, depended on the probability of defending the bar, and that, when this ceased, the attempt ought to have been relinquished. In this, however, I suspend a definitive judgement, and wish you to consider what I say as confidential." The event corresponded with the general's predictions. The British vessels, after crossing the bar without opposition, passed the forts, and took such a station in Cooper river, as, in conjunction with the land forces, made the evacuation of the town by the Americans impossible, and finally produced the surrender of the whole southern army.

When intelligence of this catastrophe reached the northern states, the American army was in the greatest distress. This had been often represented to congress, and was particularly stated to general Schuyler, in a letter from general Washington, in the following words, "Since the date of my last, we have had the virtue and patience of the army put to the severest trial. Sometimes it has been five or six days together without

bread, at other times as many days without meat, and, once or twice, two or three days without either. I hardly thought it possible, at one period, that we should be able to keep it together; nor could it have been done, but for the exertions of the magistrates in the several counties of this state, on whom I was obliged to call, expose our situation to them, and in plain terms declare, that we were reduced to the alternative of disbanding, or catering for ourselves, unless the inhabitants would afford us their aid. I allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle, to be delivered on certain days, and, for the honour of the magistrates and good disposition of the people, I must add, that my requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded. Nothing but this great exertion could have saved the army from dissolution, or starving, as we were bereft of every hope from the commissaries. At one time the soldiers eat every kind of horse food, but hay. Buckwheat, common wheat, rye, and Indian corn, composed the meal which made their bread. As an army they bore it with the most heroic patience, but sufferings like these, accompanied by the want of clothes, blankets, &c.

will produce frequent desertion in all armies, and so it happened with us, though it did not excite a single mutiny."

The paper money with which the troops were paid, was in a state of depreciation daily increasing. The distresses from this source, though felt in 1778, and still more so in 1779, did not arrive to the highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth, "that four months pay of a private would not procure for his family a single bushel of wheat, that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse, that a common labourer or express rider received four times as much as an American officer." They urged, "that unless a speedy and ample remedy was provided, the total dissolution of their line was inevitable;" and concluded with saying, "that their pay should either be made up in Mexican dollars, or in something equivalent." In addition to the insufficiency of their pay and support, other causes of discontent prevailed. The original idea, of a continental army, to be raised, paid, subsisted, and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, had been in a great measure ex-

changed for state establishments. This mischievous measure partly originated from necessity; for state credit was not quite so much depreciated as continental. Congress not possessing the means of supporting their army, the business devolved on the component parts of the confederacy. Some states, from their internal ability and local advantages, furnished their troops, not only with clothing, but with many conveniencies. Others supplied them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale. A few, from their particular situation, could do little, or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty mixed daily, and compared circumstances. Those who fared worse than others, were dissatisfied with a service which made such injurious distinctions. From causes of this kind, superadded to a complication of wants and sufferings, a disposition to mutiny began to shew itself in the American army. Very few of the officers were rich. To make an appearance suitable to their station, required an expenditure of the little all which most of them possessed. The supplies from the public were so inadequate, as to compel frequent resignations. The officers of whole lines announced their determination to quit the service. The personal influence

of general Washington was exerted with the officers in preventing their adoption of such ruinous measures, and with the states, to remove the causes which led to them.

Soon after the surrender of the whole southern army, and at the moment the northern was in the greatest distress for the necessaries of life, general Kniphausen passed over from New York into New Jersey, with 5,000 men. These were soon reinforced with a detachment of the victorious troops returned with sir Henry Clinton, from South Carolina. It is difficult to tell what was the precise object of this expedition. Perhaps the royal commanders hoped to get possession of Morristown, and destroy the American stores. Perhaps they flattered themselves, that the inhabitants, dispirited at the recent fall of Charleston, would submit without resistance, and that the soldiers of the continental army would desert to the royal standard. Several movements took place on both sides, and also small skirmishes, but without any decisive effect. At one time, Washington conjectured that the destruction of his stores was the object of the enemy; at another, that the whole was a feint to draw off his attention, while they pushed up North river, from New York, to attack West Point.

The American army was stationed with a view to both objects. The security of the stores was attended to, and such a position taken as would compel the British to fight under great disadvantages, if they risked a general action to get at them. The American general, Howe, who commanded at the highlands, was ordered to concentrate his force for the security of West Point; and Washington, with the principal division of his army, took such a middle position as enabled him either to fall back to defend his stores, or to advance for the defence of West Point, as circumstances might require. The first months of the year were spent in these desultory operations. The disasters to the south produced no disposition in the north to give up the contest; but the tardiness of congress and of the states, the weakness of government, and the depreciation of the money, deprived Washington of all means of attempting any thing beyond defensive operations. In this state of languor, marquis de la Fayette arrived from France, with assurances that a French fleet and army might soon be expected on the coast. This roused the Americans from that lethargy into which they seemed to be sinking. Requisitions on the states for men and money were urged with

with uncommon earnestness. Washington, in his extensive correspondence throughout the United States, endeavoured to stimulate the public mind to such exertions as the approaching crisis required. In addition to arguments formerly used, he endeavoured on this occasion, by a temperate review of European politics, to convince his countrymen of the real danger of their independence, if they neglected to improve the decisive advantages they might obtain by a great and manly effort, in conjunction with the succours expected from France. The resolutions of congress for this purpose were slowly executed. The quotas assigned to the several states were by their respective legislatures apportioned on the several counties and towns. These divisions were again subdivided into classes, and each class was called upon to furnish a man.

This predominance of state systems over those which were national, was foreseen and lamented by the commander in chief. In a letter to a member of the national legislature, he observed, "that unless congress speaks in a more decisive tone, unless they are vested with powers by the several states competent to the great purposes of the war, or assume them as a matter of right, and they and the states

states respectively act with more energy than they hitherto have done, our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses, and derive no benefit from them. One state will comply with a requisition from congress, another neglects to do it, a third executes it by halves, and all differ in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill; and while such a system as the present one, or rather want of one, prevails, we ever shall be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage.

"This, my dear sir, is plain language to a member of congress, but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, and instead of looking up to congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, considering themselves as dependent on their respective states. In a word, I see the power of congress declining too fast, for the consequence and respect which are due to them, as the great representative

sentative body of America, and am fearful of the consequences."

From the embarrassments which cramped the operations of Washington, a partial temporary relief was attained from private sources. When congress could neither command money nor credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association, to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering brethren in arms. The sum of 300,000 dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal design of which was to purchase provisions for the troops in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted.

The ladies of Philadelphia about the same time also subscribed large donations for the same laudable purpose. These supplies, though liberal, were far short of a sufficiency for the army. So late as the 20th of June, general Washington informed congress, "that he still laboured under the painful and humiliating embarrassment, of having no shirts to deliver to the troops, many of whom were absolutely destitute of that necessary article, nor were they much better supplied with

with summer overalls." "For the troops to be without clothing at any time," he added, "is highly injurious to the service, and distressing to our feelings; but the want will be more peculiarly mortifying when they come to act with those of our allies. If it be possible, I have no doubt, immediate measures will be taken to relieve their distress.

"It is also most sincerely to be wished, that there could be some supplies of clothing furnished to the officers. There are a great many whose condition is miserable. This, in some instances, is the case with the whole of the lines of some states. It would be well for their own sakes, and for the public good, if they could be furnished. They will not be able, when our friends come to co-operate with us, to go on a common routine of duty; and if they should, they must, from their appearance, be held in low estimation."

The complicated arrangements for raising and supporting the American army, which was voted for the campaign, were so tardily executed, that when the summer was far advanced, Washington was uninformed of the force on which he might rely, and of course could not fix on any certain plan of operations for the combined armies. In a letter to congress, he thus expressed his embarrassment;

rassment: "The season is come when we have every reason to expect the arrival of the fleet; and yet, for want of this point of primary consequence, it is impossible for me to form a system of co-operation. I have no basis to act upon; and of course were this generous succour of our ally now to arrive, I should find myself in the most awkward, embarrassing, and painful situation. The general and the admiral, from the relation in which I stand, as soon as they approach our coast, will require of me a plan of the measures to be pursued, and there ought, of right, to be one prepared; but, circumstanced as I am, I cannot even give them conjectures. From these considerations, I have suggested to the committee, by a letter I had the honour of addressing them yesterday, the indispensable necessity of their writing again to the states, urging them to give immediate and precise information of the measures they have taken, and of the result. The interest of the states, the honour and reputation of our councils, the justice and gratitude due to our allies, all require that I should, without delay, be enabled to ascertain and inform them what we can or cannot undertake. There is a point which ought now to be determined, on the success of which all our future

future operations may depend, on which, for want of knowing our prospects, I can make no decision. For fear of involving the fleet and army of our allies in circumstances which would expose them, if not seconded by us, to material inconvenience and hazard, I shall be compelled to suspend it, and the delay may be fatal to our hopes."

In this state of uncertainty, Washington meditated by night and day on the various contingencies which were probable; he revolved the possible situations in which the contending armies might be placed, and endeavoured to prepare for every plan of combined operations which future contingent events might render advisable.

On the 10th of July, the expected French fleet and army appeared on the coast of Rhode island. The former consisted of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller vessels; the latter of 6,000 men. The chevalier Fernay and count Rochambeau, who commanded the fleet and army of France, immediately transmitted to general Washington an account of their arrival—of their strength—their expectations and orders. At that time not more than one thousand men had joined the American army. A com-

mander of no more than common firmness would have resigned his commission in disgust, for not being supported by his country. Very different was the manner in which Washington acted. Trusting that the promised support would be forwarded with all possible dispatch, he sent on to the French commanders, by the marquis de la Fayette, definitive proposals for commencing the siege of New York. Of this he gave information to congress in a letter, in the following words: "Pressed on all sides by a choice of difficulties in a moment which required decision, I have adopted that line of conduct which comported with the dignity and faith of congress, the reputation of these states, and the honour of our arms. I have sent on definitive proposals of co-operation to the French general and admiral. Neither the period of the season nor a regard to decency would permit delay. The die is cast, and it remains with the states either to fulfil their engagements, preserve their credit, and support their independence; or to involve us in disgrace and defeat. Notwithstanding the failures pointed out by the committee, I shall proceed on the supposition that they will ultimately consult their own interest and honour, and not suffer us to fail for the want

of

of means which it is in their power to afford. What has been done, and is doing, by some of the states, confirms the opinion I have entertained of sufficient resources in the country. Of the disposition of the people to submit to any arrangement for bringing them forth, I see no reasonable ground to doubt. If we fail for want of proper exertions in any of the governments, I trust the responsibility will fall where it ought, and that I shall stand justified to congress, my country, and the world."

The 5th of the next month, August, was named as the day when the French troops should embark, and the American army assemble in Morrissania for the purpose of commencing their combined operations. Very soon after the arrival of the French fleet, admiral Greaves reinforced the British naval force, in the harbour of New York, with six ships of the line. Hitherto the French had a naval superiority. Without it all prospect of success in the proposed attack on New York was visionary: but this being suddenly and unexpectedly reversed, the plan for combined operations became eventual. The British admiral, having now the superiority, proceeded to Rhode island, to attack the French in that quarter. He soon discovered that

that the French were perfectly secure from any attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charleston, embarked about 8,000 of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntingdon bay on Long island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet in attacking the French force at Rhode island. When this movement took place, general Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peckskill. Had sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, general Washington intended to have attacked New York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose; but sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntingdon bay towards New York.

In the meantime, the French fleet and army, being blocked up at Rhode-island, were incapacitated from co-operating with the Americans. Hopes were nevertheless indulged, that, by the arrival of another fleet of his most christian majesty, then in the West Indies, under the command of count de Guichen, the superiority would be so much in favour of the allies, as to enable them to prosecute their original intention of attacking New York. When the expectations of the Americans were raised to the highest pitch, and when they were in great forwardness of

preparation to act in concert with their allies, intelligence arrived, that count de Guichen had sailed for France. This disappointment was extremely mortifying.

Washington still adhered to his purpose of attacking New York at some future and more favourable period. On this subject, he corresponded with the French commanders, and had a personal interview with them on the 21st of September, at Hartford. The arrival of admiral Rodney on the American coast a short time after with eleven ships of the line, disconcerted, for that season, the plans of the allies.

General Washington felt with infinite regret a succession of abortive projects throughout the campaign of 1780. In that year, and not before, he had indulged the hope of happily terminating the war. In a letter to a friend, he wrote as follows: "We are now drawing to a close an inactive campaign, the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a very favourable complexion. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was opening which would enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life. The favourable disposition of Spain—the promised succour from France—the combined force in the West Indies—the declaration of Russia (acceded to by

by other powers of Europe, humiliating the naval pride and power of Great Britain)—the superiority of France and Spain by sea in Europe—the Irish claims, and English disturbances—formed in the aggregate an opinion in my breast (which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams) that the hour of deliverance was not far distant; for that, however unwilling Great Britain might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest. But, alas! these prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory; and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half of our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients until we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and œconomy. It is in vain, however, to look back, nor is it our business to do so. Our case is not desperate, if virtue exists in the people, and there is wisdom among our rulers. But to suppose that this great revolution can be accomplished by a temporary army—that this army will be subsisted by state supplies—and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in my opinion, absurd."

CHAP. VIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

The Pennsylvania line mutinies.—The Jersey lines follow their example, but are quelled.—Distresses of the American army.—General Washington commences a military journal.—The British carry on extensive operations in the southern states.—Washington is pressed to repair to the defence of Virginia, but declines.—Reprimands his manager for furnishing supplies to the British army.—Extinguishes a threatened civil war respecting the independence of Vermont.—Projects a plan of combined operations.—Deputes Colonel John Laurens to obtain the concurrence of France.—Siege of New York proposed, but exchanged for Yorktown.—Lord Cornwallis, invested by the French and Americans, is forced to capitulate.—Washington makes preparations for the campaign of 1782.

THE year 1780 ended in the northern states with disappointment; and the year 1781 commenced with mutiny. In the night of
1781. the 1st of January, about 1300 of the Pennsylvania line paraded under arms in their encampment near Morristown, avowing a determination to march to the seat of congress, and obtain a redress of their grievances, without which they would serve no longer. The exertions of general Wayne and the other officers, to quell the mutiny, were in vain. The whole body marched off with six field pieces

pieces towards Princeton. They stated their demands in writing, which were, a discharge to all who had served three years—an immediate payment of all that was due to them—and that future pay should be made in real money to all who remained in the service. Their officers, a committee of congress, and a deputation from the executive council of Pennsylvania, endeavoured to effect an accommodation; but the mutineers resolutely refused all terms of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. To their demands, as founded in justice, the civil authority of Pennsylvania substantially yielded. Intelligence of this mutiny was communicated to general Washington at New Windsor, before any accommodation had taken place. Though he had been long accustomed to decide in hazardous and difficult situations, yet it was no easy matter, in this delicate crisis, to determine on the most proper course to be pursued. His personal influence had several times extinguished rising mutinies. The first scheme that presented itself was to repair to the camp of the mutineers, and try to recal them to a sense of their duty; but on mature reflection this was declined. He well knew that their claims were founded in justice, but he could not reconcile himself to wound the

discipline of his army by yielding to their demands while they were in open revolt with arms in their hands. He reviewed the subject in all its relations, and was well apprized that the principal grounds of discontent were not peculiar to the Pennsylvania line, but common to all his troops. If force was requisite, he had none to spare without hazarding West Point. If concessions were unavoidable, they had better be made by any person than the commander in chief. After that mature deliberation which he always gave to matters of importance, he determined against a personal interference, and left the whole to the civil authorities, which had already taken it up; but at the same time prepared for those measures which would become necessary if no accommodation took place. This resolution was communicated to general Wayne, with a caution to regard the situation of the other lines of the army, in any concessions which might be made, and with a recommendation to draw the mutineers over the Delaware, to increase the difficulty of communicating with the enemy in New York.

The dangerous policy of yielding even to the just demands of soldiers with arms in their hands soon became apparent. The success of the Pennsylvania line induced a part

part of that of New Jersey to hope for similar advantages from similar conduct. In about three weeks a part of the Jersey brigade rose in arms, and, making the same claims which had been yielded to the Pennsylvanians, marched to Chatham. Washington, who was far from pleased with the issue of the mutiny in the Pennsylvania line, determined, by strong measures, to stop the progress of a spirit which was hostile to all his hopes. General Howe, with a detachment of the eastern troops, was immediately ordered to march against the mutineers, and instructed to make no terms with them while they were in a state of resistance, and on their surrender, to seize a few of the most active leaders, and to execute them immediately in the presence of their associates. These orders were obeyed. Two of the ringleaders were shot, and the survivors returned to their duty. Though Washington adopted these decisive measures, yet no man was more sensible of the wants and sufferings of his army, and none more active and zealous in procuring them justice. He improved the late events by writing circular letters to the states, urging them to prevent all future causes of discontent, by doing justice to their respective lines. Some good effects were produced, but only temporary,

and far short of the well-founded claims of the troops. Their wants with respect to provisions were only partially supplied, and by expedients from one short time to another. The most usual was, ordering an officer to seize on provisions wherever found. This differed from robbery only in its being done by authority for the public service, and in the officer being always directed to give the proprietor a certificate of the quantity and quality of what was taken from him. At first, some reliance was placed on these certificates, as vouchers to support a future demand on the United States; but they soon became so common as to be of little value. Recourse was so frequently had to coercion, both legislative and military, that the people not only lost confidence in public credit, but became impatient under all exertions of authority for forcing their property from them. About this time Washington was obliged to apply 9,000 dollars, sent by the state of Massachusetts for the payment of her troops, to the use of the quarter-master's department, to enable him to transport provisions from the adjacent states. Before he consented to adopt this expedient, he had consumed every ounce of provisions which had been kept as a reserve in the garrison of West Point, and had strained im-

press-

press by military force to so great an extent, that there was reason to apprehend the inhabitants, irritated by such frequent calls, would proceed to dangerous insurrections. Fort Schuyler, West Point, and the posts up the North river, were on the point of being abandoned by their starving garrisons. At this period of the war, there was little or no circulating medium, either in the form of paper or specie; and in the neighbourhood of the American army there was a real want of necessary provisions. The deficiency of the former occasioned many inconveniencies, and an unequal distribution of the burdens of the war; but the insufficiency of the latter had well nigh dissolved the army, and laid the country in every direction, open to British incursions.

On the first of May 1781, general Washington commenced a military journal. The following statement is extracted from it: "I begin at this epoch a concise journal of military transactions, &c. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the war, in aid of my memory, and wish the multiplicity of matter which continually surrounds me, and the embarrassed state of our affairs, which is momentarily calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt, my present 1781.

present intention and plan, as to render it of little avail.

" To have a clearer understanding of the entries which may follow, it would be proper to recite in detail our wants and our prospects; but this alone would be a work of much time and great magnitude. It may suffice to give the sum of them, which I shall do in a few words, viz.

" Instead of having magazines filled with provisions, we have a scanty pittance scattered here and there in the different states. Instead of having our arsenals well supplied with military stores, they are poorly provided, and the workmen all leaving them. Instead of having the various articles of field equipage in readiness, the quarter-master general is but now applying to the several states (as the dernier resort) to provide these things for their troops respectively. Instead of having a regular system of transportation established upon credit, or funds in the quarter-master's hands, to defray the contingent expenses of it; we have neither the one nor the other: and all that business, or a great part of it, being done by military impressment, we are daily and hourly oppressing the people, souring their tempers, and alienating their affections. Instead of having the regiments

ments completed to the new establishments, scarce any state in the union has at this hour one eighth part of its quota in the field; and there is little prospect, that I can see, of ever getting more than half. In a word, instead of having every thing in readiness to take the field, we have nothing. And instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy prospect of a defensive one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, troops, and money from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New York, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions at one and the same time on several of the states. The British seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view

a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of the British head quarters at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia.

In this extensive warfare, which was carried on nearly at the same time in the four most southern states, general Washington could have no immediate agency. His advice, in corresponding with the officers commanding in these states, was freely and beneficially given, and as large detachments sent to their aid as could be spared, consistently with the security of West Point. In conducting the war, his invariable maxim was to suffer the devastation of property, rather than hazard great and essential objects for its preservation. While the war raged in Virginia, the governor, members of congress, and other influential citizens, urged his return to the defence of his native state. But, considering America as his country, and the general safety as his object, he deemed it of more importance to remain on the Hudson. There he was not only securing the most important post in the United States, but concerting a grand plan of combined operations, which, as shall soon be related, not only delivered Virginia,

but

but all the states, from the calamities of the war, and established their independence.

In his disregard of property, when in competition with national objects, Washington was in no respect partial to his own. While the British were in the Potomac, they sent a flag on shore to Mount Vernon, his private estate, requiring a supply of fresh provisions. Refusals of such demands were often followed by burning the houses and other property near the river. To prevent this catastrophe, the person entrusted with the management of the estate went on board with the flag, and carrying a supply of provisions, requested that the buildings and improvements might be spared. For this he received a severe reprimand in a letter, in which the general observed, "that it would have been a less painful circumstance to him to have heard, that in consequence of a non-compliance with the request of the British, they had burnt his house and laid his plantation in ruins."

To the other difficulties with which Washington had to contend in the preceding years of the war, a new one was about this time added. While the whole force at his disposal was unequal to the defence of the country against the common enemy, a civil war was on the point of breaking out among his fellow citizens. The claims of the inhabitants of Vermont,

Vermont, to be a separate independent state, and of the state of New York, to their country, as within its chartered limits, together with open offers from the royal commanders to establish and defend them as a British province, produced a serious crisis, which called for the interference of the American chief. This was the more necessary, as the governments of New York and of Vermont were respectively resolved on exercising a jurisdiction over the same people and the same territory. Congress resolved in August 1781 to accede to the independence of Vermont on certain conditions, and within specified limits. This act of congress was not accepted by Vermont, and yet was so disagreeable to the legislature of New York, as to draw from them a spirited protest against it. Vermont complained that congress interfered in the internal police of an independent state. New York viewed the resolve as a virtual dismemberment of their state, which was a constituent part of the confederacy. Washington, anxious for the peace of the union, sent a message to Chittenden, governor of Vermont, desiring to know what where the real designs, views, and intentions of the people of Vermont; whether they would be satisfied with the independence

proposed

proposed by congress, or had it seriously in contemplation to join with the enemy, and become a British province? The governor returned an unequivocal and decisive answer, that there were no people on the continent more attached to the cause of America than the people of Vermont; but that they were fully determined not to be put under the government of New York; that they would oppose this by force of arms, and would join with the British in Canada, rather than to submit to that government.

While both states were dissatisfied with congress, and their animosities, from increasing violence and irritation, became daily more alarming, general Washington, aware of the extremes to which all parties were tending, returned an answer to governor Chittenden, in which were these expressions: "It is not my business, neither do I think it necessary now to discuss the origin of the right of a number of inhabitants to that tract of country formerly distinguished by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, and now known by that of Vermont. I will take it for granted that their right was good, because congress by their resolve of the 7th of August imply it, and by that of the 21st are willing fully to confirm it, provided the new state is confined

confined to certain described bounds. It appears therefore to me that the dispute of boundary is the only one that exists, and that being removed, all other difficulties would be removed also, and the matter terminated to the satisfaction of all parties. You have nothing to do but withdraw your jurisdiction to the confines of your old limits, and obtain an acknowledgement of independency and sovereignty, under the resolve of the 21st of August, for so much territory as does not interfere with the ancient established bounds of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. In my private opinion, while it behoves the delegates to do ample justice to a body of people sufficiently respectable by their numbers, and entitled by other claims to be admitted into that confederation, it becomes them also to attend to the interests of their constituents, and see that under the appearance of justice to one, they do not materially injure the rights of others. I am apt to think this is the prevailing opinion of congress."

The impartiality, moderation, and good sense of this letter, together with a full conviction of the disinterested patriotism of its author, brought round a revolution in the minds of the legislature of Vermont, and they acceded to the propositions of congress, though they had

had rejected them four months before. A truce among the contending parties followed, and the storm blew over. Thus the personal influence of one man, derived from his pre-eminent virtues and meritorious services, extinguished the sparks of civil discord at the time they were kindling into flame.

Though, in conducting the American war, general Washington often acted on the Fabian system, by evacuating, retreating, and avoiding decisive engagements, yet this was much more the result of necessity than of choice. His uniform opinion was in favour of offensive operations, as the most effectual means of bringing the war to a termination. On this principle, he planned attacks in almost every year on some or other of the British armies or strong posts in the United States. He endeavoured from year to year to stimulate the public mind to some great decisive operation, but was never properly supported. In the years 1778, 1779, and 1780, the projected combined operations with the French, as has been related, entirely miscarried. The idea of ending the war by a grand military exploit continually occupied his active mind. To insure success, a naval superiority on the coast, and a loan of money, were indispensably necessary. The last was particularly so, in

the year 1781, for the resources of the United States were so reduced, as to be unequal to the support of their army, or even to the transportation of it to any moderately distant scene of action. To obtain these necessary aids, it was determined to send an envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles. Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens was selected. He was in every respect qualified for the important mission. In addition to the most engaging personal address, his connexion with the commander in chief, as one of his aids, gave him an opportunity of being intimately acquainted with the military capacities and weaknesses of his country. These were also particularly detailed in the form of a letter to him from general Washington; which was written when the Pennsylvania line was in open revolt. Among other interesting matters, it stated, "that the efforts already made by the United States, exceeded the natural ability of the country; and that any revenue they were capable of making, would leave a large surplus to be supplied by credit. That experience had proved the impossibility of supporting a paper system without funds, and that domestic loans could not be effected, because there were few men of monied capital in the United States. That from necessity

recourse

recourse had been had to military impressments for supporting the army, which, if continued longer or urged farther, would probably disgust the people, and effect a revolution of public sentiment. That the relief procured by these violent means was so inadequate, that the patience of the army was exhausted, and their discontents had broken out in serious and alarming mutinies. That the relief necessary was not within the power of the United States, and that from a view of all circumstances a loan of money was absolutely necessary for reviving public credit, and giving vigour to future operations." It was farther stated, "that next to a loan of money, a French naval superiority was of so much consequence, that without it nothing decisive could be undertaken against the British, who were in the greatest force on and near the coasts."

The future capacities of the United States to repay any loan that might be made were particularly stated, and that "there was still a fund of resource, and inclination in the country equal to great exertions, provided a liberal sum of money would furnish the means of stopping the progress of disgust which resulted from the unpopular mode of supplying the army by requisition and impressment."

Such interesting statements, sanctioned by the American chief, and enforced by the address of colonel Laurens, directly from the scene of action, and the influence of doctor Franklin, who for the five preceding years had been minister plenipotentiary from the United States to the court of Versailles, produced the desired effect. His most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the united Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foe projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France with great precision, calculated the naval force which the British could concentre on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. French

fleets

fleets from Brest, the West Indies and Rhode Island, rendezvoused in the Chesapeak about the 30th of August 1781. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action, and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object, and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the British, till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed. This coincidence of favorable circumstances extended to the marches of the French and American land forces. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that general Washington and count Rochambeau had passed the British head quarters in New York, and were considerably advanced in their way to Yorktown, before count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner: Monseiur de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at New Port, arrived at Boston with dispatches for count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Weathersfield between generals Washington, Knox, and du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de

Rochambeau and the chevalier de Chastelleux on the part of the French. At this interview an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was, to lay siege to New York, in concert with a French fleet which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North river. Letters were addressed by Washington to the executive officers of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, requiring them to fill up their battalions, and to have their quotas of 6,200 militia in readiness within a week of the time they might be called for. Conformably to these outlines of the campaign, the French troops marched from Rhode island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, Washington marched his army from their winter encampment, near Peckskill to the vicinity of Knightsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North river with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British, about this time, retired with almost the whole of their force to York island. Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against

against New York about the middle, or, at farthest, the latter end of July. Flat-bottomed boats, sufficient to transport 5,000 men, were built near Albany, and brought down Hudson's river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New York. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten island for the use of the French troops. Every movement was made which was introductory to the commencement of the siege. It was not a little mortifying to Washington, to find himself, on the 2d of August, to be only a few hundreds 1781.
stronger than he was on the day his army first moved from their winter quarters. To have fixed on a plan of operations with a foreign officer at the head of a respectable force; to have brought that force from a considerable distance, in confident expectation of reinforcements sufficiently large to commence effective operations against the common enemy; and at the same time to have engagements in behalf of the states violated, in direct opposition to their own interest, and in a manner derogatory to his personal honour; was enough to have excited storms and tempests in any mind less calm than that of Washington. He bore this hard trial with his usual magnanimity, and contented himself with repeating his

requisitions to the states, and at the same time urged them, by every tie, to enable him to fulfil engagements entered into, on their account, with the commander of the French troops.

That tardiness of the states which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, lord Cornwallis fixed himself near the capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival at New York of a reinforcement of 3,000 Germans from Europe, the superior strength of the English garrison, the failure of the respective American states in filling up their battalions, and embodying their militia; and especially recent intelligence from count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeak, concurred, about the middle of August, to make a total change of the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New York, was nevertheless kept up. While this

this deception was played off, the allied army crossed the North river, and passed, by the way of Philadelphia, through the intermediate country to Yorktown. An attempt to reduce the British force in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance as the reduction of New York.

While the attack of New York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington, detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign, being intercepted, fell into the hands of sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint, calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New York. Under the influence of this opinion, he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed; then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia, for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception,

so no feint of attacking New York could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New York. Washington advanced as far as Chester, before he received the news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by mons. de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburg
1781. on the 14th of September. They, with generals Chastelleux, du Portail, and Knox proceeded to visit count de Grasse, on board his ship, the Ville de Paris, and agreed on plan of operations.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington "that in case a British fleet appeared, he conceived he ought to go out, and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette, with a letter, to dissuade him from the dangerous measure. This letter, and the persuasions of the marquis, had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to Yorktown, partly by land and partly down

down the Chesapeak. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, rendezvoused at Williamsburg on the 25th of September, and in five days after moved down to the investiture at Yorktown. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis either from retreating, or receiving succour by water.

About this time, earl Cornwallis received a second letter from sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New York, to embark 5,000 men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the 5th of October; that this fleet consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, lord Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown, on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass

morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade and by batteries. On the left of the centre was a horn-work and a ditch, a row of fraize, and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced, and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry passing over the river to Gloucester, general de Choisy invested the British force on that side so fully as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the meantime, the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the 9th and 10th of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries. They kept up a brisk and well directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour. The Charon of 44 guns, and a transport ship, were burned. On the 10th, a messenger arrived with a dispatch from sir Henry Clinton to earl Cornwallis, dated the 30th of September, which stated various circumstances, tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained by a direct movement from

from New York. The besiegers commenced their second parallel 200 yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies; it was therefore proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The assailants marched to the attack with unloaded arms. Having passed the abbatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes, with the loss of eight killed and twenty-eight wounded. The French were equally successful on their part, they carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely shew a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left, but from offering terms of capitulation, or attempting an escape. He determined

determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to recross the river to Yorktown. With the failure of this scheme, the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives; lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side-arms, and private property of every kind; but all property obviously belonging

to

to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed.

The regular troops of France and America employed in this siege, consisted of about 7,000 of the former, and 5,500 of the latter, and they were assisted by about 4,000 militia. On the part of the combined army, about 300 were killed or wounded. On the part of the British, about 500; and seventy were taken in the redoubts; which were carried in the assault on the 14th of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war, exceeded 7,000 men; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3,800 capable of bearing arms. Congress honoured general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under them, with thanks for their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The whole project was conceived with profound wisdom, and the incidents of it had been combined with singular propriety. It is not therefore wonderful, that, from the remarkable coincidence in all its parts, it was crowned with unvaried success.

Such was the fate of that general, from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had

been so confidentially expected. No event during the war bid fairer for oversetting the independence, of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden;—but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in north America.

The people throughout the United States displayed a social triumph and exultation, which no private prosperity is ever able fully to inspire. General Washington, on the day after the surrender, ordered "that those who were under arrest should be pardoned and set at liberty." His orders closed as follows, "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow in the different brigades and divisions. The commander in chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it, with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour claims."

After the capture of lord Cornwallis, Washington, with the greatest part of his army, returned to the vicinity of New York.

In

In the preceding six years, he had been accustomed to look forward, and to provide for all possible events. Constantly struggling with difficulties, his courage at all times grew with the dangers which surrounded him. In the most disastrous situations, he was far removed from despair. On the other hand, those fortunate events which induced many to believe that the revolution was accomplished, never operated on him so far as to relax his exertions or precautions.

Though complete success had been obtained by the allied arms in Virginia, and great advantages had been gained in 1781 in the Carolinas, yet Washington urged the necessity of being prepared for another campaign. In a letter to general Greene, he observed, "I shall attempt to stimulate congress to the best improvement of our late success, by taking the most vigorous and effectual measures to be ready for an early and decisive campaign the next year. My greatest fear is, that, viewing this stroke in a point of light which may too much magnify its importance, they may think our work too nearly closed, and fall into a state of languor and relaxation. To prevent this error, I shall employ every means in my power; and if unhappily we sink into this fatal mistake, no part of the blame shall be mine."

CHAP. IX.

Washington recommends preparations for another campaign.—Rumors of peace, which are at first doubted, but afterwards are believed.—Discontents in the army.—A meeting of the officers.—Address of Washington to them.—Soldiers from Lancaster mutiny.—The army disbanded.—Washington takes leave of his officers.—Settles his accounts.—Returns his commission to congress, and retires to Mount Vernon.

1782. THE military establishment for 1782 was passed with unusual celerity, shortly after the surrender of lord Cornwallis; but no exertions of America alone could do more than confine the British to the sea coast. To dislodge them from their strong holds in New York and Charleston, occupied the unceasing attention of Washington. While he was concerting plans for further combined operations with the French, and at the same time endeavouring, by circular letters, to rouse his countrymen to spirited measures, intelligence arrived, that sundry motions for discontinuing the American war had been debated in the British parliament, and nearly carried. Fearing that this would relax the exertions of the states, he added in his circular letters to their respective governors, "I have perused these debates with great attention and care, with

a view if possible to penetrate their real design; and upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow, I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion, that the measure in all its views, so far as it respects America, is merely delusory, having no serious intention to admit our independence upon its true principles—but is calculated to produce a change of ministers, to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to a continuance of the war—while it is meant to amuse this country with a false idea of peace, to draw us from our connexion with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, which taking place, the ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigour and effect. Your excellency will permit me on this occasion to observe, that even if the nation and parliament are really in earnest to obtain peace with America, it will undoubtedly be wisdom in us to meet them with great caution and circumspection, and by all means to keep our arms firm in our hands, and instead of relaxing one iota in our exertions, rather to spring forward with redoubled vigour, that we may take the advantage of every favourable opportunity, until our wishes are fully obtained. No nation yet suffered in treaty, by preparing

(even in the moment of negociation) most vigorously for the field."

1782. Early in May, sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief of the British forces in America, arrived in New York, and announced, in successive communications, the increasing probability of a speedy peace, and his disapprobation of farther hostilities, "which," he observed, "could only tend to multiply the miseries of individuals, without a possible advantage to either nation." The cautious temper of Washington gradually yielded to increasing evidence, that the British were seriously inclined to terminate the war; but in proportion as this opinion prevailed, the exertions of the states relaxed. Not more than 80,000 dollars had been received from all of them, when the month of August was far advanced. Every expenditure yielded to the subsistence of the army. A sufficiency of money could scarcely be obtained for that indispensably necessary purpose. To pay the troops was impossible. Washington, whose sagacity anticipated events, foresaw with concern the probable consequences likely to result from the tardiness of the states to comply with the requisitions of congress. These had been ample; eight millions of dollars had been called for, to be paid

paid in four equal instalments, for the service of the year 1782. In a confidential letter to the secretary of war, Washington observed, "I cannot help fearing the result of reducing the army, when I see such a number of men, goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and of anticipation on the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and, what they call, the ingratitude of the public—involved in debts, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritable circumstances, unattended by one thing to sooth their feelings or brighten the gloomy prospect, I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious and distressing nature.

"I wish not to heighten the shades of the picture so far as the real life would justify me, or I would give anecdotes of patriotism and distress which have scarcely ever been paralleled, never surpassed in the history of mankind. But, you may rely upon, it the

patience and long sufferance of the army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant. While in the field, I think it may be kept from breaking out into acts of outrage; but when we retire into winter quarters (unless the storm be previously dissipated) I cannot be at ease respecting the consequences. It is high time for a peace."

These apprehensions were well founded. To watch the discontents of his troops, the American chief continued in camp after they had retired into winter quarters, though there was no prospect of any military operation which might require his presence. Soon after their retirement, the officers presented a petition * to congress, respecting their pay, and

* To the United States in Congress assembled.

The ADDRESS and PETITION of the Officers of the Army of the United States;

Humbly sheweth,

That we, the officers of the army of the United States, in behalf of ourselves and our brethren, the soldiers, beg leave, with all proper deference and respect, freely to state to congress, the supreme power of the United States, the distress under which we labour.

At this period of the war, it is with peculiar pain we find ourselves constrained to address your august body

and deputed a committee of their body to solicit their interests, while under consideration. Nothing had been decided on the claims of the army, when intelligence, in March

---

on matters of a pecuniary nature. We have struggled with our difficulties year after year, under the hopes that each would be the last; but we have been disappointed. We find our embarrassments thicken so fast, and have become so complex, that many of us are unable to go farther. In this exigence we apply to congress for relief, as our head and sovereign.

To prove that our hardships are exceedingly disproportionate to those of any other citizens in America, let a recurrence be had to the paymaster's accounts for four years past. If to this it should be objected, that the respective states have made settlements, and given securities for the pay due for part of that time, let the present value of these nominal obligations be ascertained by the monied men, and they will be found to be worth little indeed; and yet, trifling as they are, many have been under the sad necessity of parting with them, to prevent their families from actually starving.

We complain that shadows have been offered to us, while the substance has been gleaned by others. Our situation compels us to search for the cause of our extreme poverty. The citizens murmur at the greatness of their taxes, and are astonished that no part reaches the army. The numerous demands which are between the first collectors and the soldiers swallow up the whole. Our distresses are now brought to a point. We have borne all that men can bear; our property is expended; our private resources are at an end; and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant

March 1783, arrived, that preliminary and eventual articles of peace, between the United States and Great Britain, had been signed on the 30th of the preceding November, in which

---

cessant applications. We therefore most seriously and earnestly beg that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army as soon as possible. The uneasiness of the soldiers, for want of pay, is great and dangerous; any farther experiment on their patience may have fatal effects. The promised subsistence or ration of provisions, consisted of certain articles specified in kind and quality. This ration, without regard, that we can conceive, to the health of the troops, has been frequently altered as necessity or conveniency suggested, generally losing by the change some part of its substance. On an average, not more than seven or eight tenths have been issued; the retained parts were for a short time paid for; but the business became troublesome to those who were to execute it. For this or some other reasons, all regard to the dues, as they respected the soldiers, has been discontinued (now and then a trifling gratuity excepted). As these dues respected the officers, they were compensated during one year and part of another by an extra ration. As to the retained rations, the account for several years remains unsettled; there is a large balance due upon it, and a considerable sum for that of forage.

The clothing was another part of the soldiers' hire. The arrearages on that score, for the year 1777, were paid off in continental money, when the dollar was worth about four pence; the arrearages for the following year are unliquidated, and we apprehend scarcely thought of but by the army. Whenever there has been a real want

which the independence of the United States was amply recognized. In the general joy excited by this event, the army partook. One unpleasant idea, however, mingled itself with these

---

want of means and defect in system, or neglect in execution, in the departments of the army, we have invariably been the sufferers, by hunger and nakedness, and by languishing in an hospital. We beg leave to urge an immediate adjustment of all dues, that as great a part as possible be paid, and the remainder put on such a footing as will restore cheerfulness to the army, revive confidence in the justice and generosity of its constituents, and contribute to the very desirable effect of re-establishing public credit. We are grieved to find that our brethren, who retired from service on half-pay, under the resolution of congress in 1780, are not only destitute of any effectual provision, but are become the objects of obloquy. Their condition has a very discouraging aspect on us, who must sooner or later retire, and, from every consideration of justice, gratitude, and policy, demands attention and redress. We regard the act of congress respecting half-pay as an honourable and just recompence for several years' hard service, in which the health and fortunes of the officers have been worn down and exhausted. We see with chagrin the odious point of view in which the citizens of too many of the states endeavour to place the men entitled to it. We hope, for the honour of human nature, there are none so hardened in the sin of ingratitude, as to deny the justice of the reward. We have reason to believe that the objection, generally, is against the mode only; to prevent, therefore, any altercations and distinctions which may tend to injure that harmony which we ar-

dently

these exultations; for as they thought justice had not been done them while their services were indispensable, they also thought that justice would be withheld when those services ceased

---

dently desire may reign throughout the community, we are willing to commute the half-pay, pledged for full pay, for a certain number of years; or for a sum in gross, as shall be agreed to by the committee sent with this address. And in this we pray that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have expended, or may expend, their lives in the service of their country, may be fully comprehended— We also beg that some mode may be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers, who are the subjects of the resolution of congress of the 15th May 1778. To the representation now made, the army have not a doubt that congress will pay all that attention which the serious nature of it requires. It would be criminal in the officers to conceal the general dissatisfaction which prevails, and is gaining ground in the army, from the pressure of evils and injuries which, in the course of seven long years, have made their condition, in many instances, wretched. They therefore intreat that congress, to convince the army and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed to the ruin of any particular class of her citizens, will point out a mode of immediate redress.

H. Knox, major-general,
John Paterson, brigadier-general,
J. Greaton, colonel,
John Crane, colonel,
H. Maxwell, lieutenant-colonel,
} on the part of the Massachusetts line.

J. Huntingdon,

ceased to be necessary. Their fears on this account were increased by a letter, received about the same time, from their committee in Philadelphia, announcing that the objects solicited from congress had not yet been obtained. Smarting under past sufferings and present wants, the ill temper of the army became almost universal. While brooding over these gloomy prospects, and exasperated at the apparent neglect with which they had been treated, an anonymous paper was circulated, requiring a meeting of the general and

---

J. Huntingdon, brigadier-general,
H. Swift, colonel,
Samuel B. Webb, colonel,
E. Huntingdon, lieutenant-colonel } on the part of the Connecticut line.

P. Cortlandt, colonel, } on the part of the New York line.

John N. Cumings, lieutenant-col. } on the part of the New Jersey line.

William Scott, major, } on the part of the New Hampshire line.

William Eustis, hospital surgeon, } on the part of the general hospital.

Moses Hazen, brigadier-general.

Cantonments, Hudson's river,
December 1782.

and field-officers the next day. The avowed object of this meeting was, to consider the late letter from their committee with congress; and what measures should be adopted, to obtain that redress of grievances which they seemed to have solicited in vain. On the same day, an inflammatory address* to the officers of the army was privately circulated, which found, in almost every bosom, such congenial sentiments as prepared the way for its favourable reception. The passions quickly caught the flame, and every appearance threatened, that the proposed convention of the officers would on the succeeding day end in an explosion of the most serious nature.

Accustomed as Washington had been to emergencies of great delicacy and difficulty, yet

* "To the Officers of the Army.

"Gentlemen,

"A fellow-soldier, whose interest and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortune may be as desperate as yours, would beg leave to address you. Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise; but though unsupported by both, he flatters himself, that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded. Like many of you, he loved private life; and left it with regret. He left

yet none had occurred which called more pressingly than the present for the utmost exertion of all his powers.

He knew well, that it was much easier to avoid intemperate measures, than to recede from them, after they had been adopted. He therefore considered it as a matter of the last importance, to prevent the meeting of the officers on the succeeding day, as proposed in the anonymous summons.

The sensibilities of the army were too high to admit of this being forbidden by authority, as a violation of discipline. But the end was answered in another way, and without irritation. The commander in chief, in general orders, noticed the anonymous summons as a disorderly proceeding, not to be countenanced; and, the more effectually to

---

left it, determined to retire from the field with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then;—not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh. But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake

to divert the officers from paying any attention to it, he requested them to meet, for the same nominal purpose, but on a day, four days subsequent to the one proposed by the anonymous addresser. The intervening period was improved in preparing the officers for the adoption of moderate measures. General Washington sent for one officer after another, and enlarged in private on the fatal consequences, and particularly the loss of character, which would result from the adoption of intemperate resolutions. His whole personal influence was excited to calm the prevailing agitation. When the officers assembled, their venerable chief, preparing to address them, found his eyesight to fail him; on which, he observed, "My eyes have grown dim in my country's service, but I never doubted of

---

mistake desire for opinion, he has till lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped, that as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude, would blaze forth upon those hands which had upheld her in the darkest stages of her passage from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched, without sinking into cowardice or plunging

of its justice!" and then proceeded as follows:

"Gentlemen,

"By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together. How inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide.

"In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions, than to the reason and judgment of the army. The author of this piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen, and I could wish he had merited as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting

---

plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you for ever! To be tame and unprovoked, when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and shew the world, how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and from thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment into the unexplored field of expedient.

"After

flecting faculties of the mind to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow

---

"After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out, is at length brought within our reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once. It has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war! It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—whom? A country, willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services; a country, courting your return to private life with tears of gratitude and smiles of admiration, longing to divide with you that independency which your

flow from such a belief, that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding. Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last; and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity consistent with your own honour and the dignity of the army, to make known

---

your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved! Is this the case? Or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not, more than once, suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to congress? Wants and wishes, which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded. And have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorial, begged from their justice, what you could no longer expect from their favour? How have you been answered? Let the

known your grievances. If my conduct heretofore has not evinced to you that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country, as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the mouth of detraction has been opened against it; it can scarcely be supposed, at this last stage of the

---

letter, which you are called to consider to-morrow, make reply.

"If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division?

"When these very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left, but your wants, infirmities, and scars! Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution and

the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. If war continues, remove into the unsettled country, there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms, and other property which we leave behind us; or, in this state of hostile separation, are we to take the two first (the latter cannot be removed) to perish in a wilderness with hunger, cold, and nakedness? "If peace takes place, never sheath your swords," says he, "until you have obtained full and ample justice." This dreadful alternative, of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless

---

and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has been hitherto spent in honour?—if you can,—go—and carry with you the jest of tories, and the scorn of whigs,—the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity of the world!—Go,—starve,—and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume, whether it be the plain

unless congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! What can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe? Some emissary perhaps from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature! But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's

---

coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles,—awake,—attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain, and your threats then, will be as empty as your entreaties now. I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion, upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government; change the milk and

ment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of that writing. With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who shall recommend moderate measures and longer forbearance, I spurn it, as every man, who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may

---

and water style of your last memorial,—assume a bolder tone—decent, but lively, spirited and determined; and suspect the man, who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your last remonstrance, for I would no longer give it the suing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of memorial; let it be represented (in language that will neither dishonour you, by its rudeness, nor betray you, by its fears) what has been promised by congress, and what has been performed; how long, and how patiently you have suffered;

may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honourable body entertain exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and, from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice. That their endeavours to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt; but like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests

---

fered; how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them, that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last, to encounter danger; though despair itself can never drive you into dishonour, it may drive you from the field; that the wound, often irritated and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of indignity from congress now must operate like the grave, and part you for ever; that in any political event, the army has its alternative—if peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death;—

interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why, then, should we distrust them? And in consequence of that distrust adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No; most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself, and I take no merit in giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me, a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you

---

death;—if war, that, courting the auspices, and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and "mock when their fear cometh on." But let it represent also, that, should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable; that while the war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field, and when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause—an army victorious over its enemies—victorious over itself.

 Anonymous.

you, under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honour to command, will oblige me to declare in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe my country and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities. While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever ability I am possessed of in your favour, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congress, that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you, for your faithful and meritorious services. And let

let me conjure you in the name, of our common country, as you value your own sacred honour, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences to overturn the liberties of our country, and who wickedly attempts to open the floodgates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

"By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof, of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, "had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

The address being ended, Washington withdrew. No person was hardy enough to

to oppose the advice he had given.* The impression made by his address was irresistible. The minds of the officers, softened by the eloquence of their beloved commander, were in a yielding state. A resolution was offered and adopted, in which they assured him, "that they reciprocated his affectionate expressions with the greatest sincerity of which the heart was capable." Before they dispersed, they unanimously adopted several other resolutions, in which they declared, "that no circumstance of distress or danger should induce a conduct that might tend to sully the reputation and glory they had acquired at the price of their blood and eight years faithful service; that they continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of congress and their country; that they viewed with abhorrence, and rejected with disdain, the infamous propositions

* "It was happy for the army and country, that when his excellency had finished, and withdrawn, no one rose and observed, 'that general Washington was about to quit the military line, laden with honour; and that he had a considerable estate to support him with dignity; but that their case was very different.' Had such ideas been thrown out, and properly enlarged upon the meeting would probably have concluded very differently."—*Gordon.*

contain

contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army."

The storm which had been suddenly raised was as suddenly dissipated. The army acquired additional reputation, and the commander in chief gave a new proof of the goodness of his heart, and the soundness of his judgement. Perhaps in no instance did the United States receive from heaven a more signal deliverance, through the hands of Washington, than in the happy termination of this serious transaction. If ambition had possessed a single corner of his heart, the opportunity was too favourable, the temptation too splendid, to have been resisted; but his soul was superior to such contracted views, and his love of country so ardent, and at the same time so pure, that the charms of power, though recommended by the imposing appearance of procuring justice for his unrewarded troops, made no impression on his unshaken mind. He viewed the character of a patriot as superior to that of a sovereign. To be elevated to superior power, was less in his esteem than to be a good man. Instead of turning the discontents of an unpaid army to his own aggrandizement, he improved the late events to stimulate congress to do that army jastice. His letter to the president on the occasion was as follows:

"Sir,

" Head Quarters, Newburg,
" Sir, March 18th, 1783.

" The result of the proceedings of the grand convention of the officers, which I have the honour of enclosing to your excellency, for the inspection of congress, will, I flatter myself, be considered as the last glorious proof of patriotism which could have been given by men who aspired to the distinction of a patriot army; and will not only confirm their claim to the justice, but will increase their title to the gratitude, of their country. Having seen the proceedings, on the part of the army, terminate with perfect unanimity, and in a manner entirely consonant to my wishes; being impressed with the liveliest sentiments of affection for those who have so long, so patiently, and so cheerfully, suffered and fought under my immediate direction; having, from motives of justice, duty, and gratitude, spontaneously offered myself as an advocate for their rights; and having been requested to write to your excellency, earnestly entreating the most speedy decision of congress upon the subjects of the late address from the army to that honourable body, it now only remains for me to perform the task I have assumed, and to intercede in their behalf, as I now do, that the sovereign

sovereign power will be pleased to verify the predictions I have pronounced of, and the confidence the army have reposed in, the justice of their country. And here, I humbly conceive, it is altogether unnecessary (while I am pleading the cause of an army which have done and suffered more than any other army ever did in the defence of the rights and liberties of human nature) to expatiate on their claims to the most ample compensation for their meritorious services; because they are perfectly known to the whole world, and because (although the topics are inexhaustible) enough has already been said on the subject. To prove these assertions, to evince that my sentiments have ever been uniform, and to shew what my ideas of the rewards in question have always been, I appeal to the archives of congress, and call on those sacred deposits to witness for me. And in order that my observations and arguments, in favour of a future adequate provision for the officers of the army, may be brought to remembrance again, and considered in a single point of view, without giving congress the trouble of having recourse to their files, I will beg leave to transmit herewith an extract from a representation

made by me to a committee of congress, so long ago as the 29th of January 1778; and also the transcript of a letter to the president of congress, dated near Pasaic falls October 11th, 1780.

"That in the critical and perilous moment when the last mentioned communication was made, there was the utmost danger a dissolution of the army would have taken place unless measures similar to those recommended had been adopted, will not admit a doubt. That the adoption of the resolution, granting half-pay for life, has been attended with all the happy consequences I had foretold, so far as respected the good of the service, let the astonishing contrast between the state of the army at this instant and at the former period determine. And that the establishment of funds, and security of the payment of all the just demands of the army, will be the most certain means of preserving the national faith and future tranquillity of this extensive continent, is my decided opinion.

"By the preceding remarks, it will readily be imagined, that, in tead of retracting, and reprehending (from farther experience and reflection) the mode of compensation so strenuously urged in the enclosures, I am more

and—

and more confirmed in the sentiment, and, if in the wrong, suffer me to please myself with the grateful delusion.

"For if, besides the simple payment of their wages, a farther compensation is not due to the sufferings and sacrifices of the officers, then have I been mistaken indeed. If the whole army have not merited whatever a grateful people can bestow, then have I been beguiled by prejudice, and built opinion on the basis of error. If this country should not in the event perform every thing which has been requested in the late memorial to congress, then will my belief become vain, and the hope that has been excited void of foundation. And if (as has been suggested for the purpose of inflaming their passions) the officers of the army are to be the only sufferers by this revolution; "if, retiring from the field, they are to grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt; if they are to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honour;" then shall I have learned what ingratitude is, then shall I have realized a tale which will embitter every moment of my future life.

"But I am under no such apprehensions; a country

country rescued by their arms from impending ruin, will never leave unpaid the debt of gratitude.

"Should any intemperate or improper warmth have mingled itself amongst the foregoing observations, I must entreat your excellency and congress it may be attributed to the effusion of an honest zeal in the best of causes, and that my peculiar situation may be my apology; and I hope I need not, on this momentous occasion, make any new protestations of personal disinterestedness, having ever renounced for myself the idea of pecuniary reward. The consciousness of having attempted faithfully to discharge my duty, and the approbation of my country, will be a sufficient recompence for my services.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

George Washington.

His Excellency the President
in Congress.

This energetic letter, connected with recent circumstances induced congress to decide on the claims of the army; these were liquidated, and the accounts acknowledged to be due from the United States.

Soon after these events, intelligence of a general peace was received. The reduction of

of the army was therefore resolved upon, but the mode of effecting it required deliberation. To avoid the inconveniencies of dismissing a great number of soldiers in a body, furloughs were freely granted on the application of individuals, and after their dispersion they were not enjoined to return. By this arrangement, a critical moment was got over. A great part of an unpaid army was dispersed over the states, without tumult or disorder.

While the veterans, serving under the immediate eye of their commander in chief, manifested the utmost good temper and conduct, a mutinous disposition broke out among some new levies stationed at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. About eighty of this description marched in a body to Philadelphia, where they were joined by some other troops, so as to amount in the whole to 300. They marched with fixed bayonets to the state house, in which congress and the state executive council held their sessions. They placed guards at every door, and threatened the president and council of the state with letting loose upon them an enraged soldiery, unless they granted their demands in twenty minutes. As soon as this outrage was known to Washington, he dispatched general Howe, with a competent force, to suppress the mutiny.

This was effected, without bloodshed, before his arrival. The mutineers were too inconsiderable to commit extensive mischief; but their disgraceful conduct excited the most poignant indignation in the breast of the commander in chief, which was expressed in a letter to the president of congress in the following words: "While I suffer the most poignant distress, in observing that a handful of men, contemptible in numbers, and equally so in point of service (if the veteran troops from the southward have not been seduced by their example), and who are not worthy to be called soldiers, should disgrace themselves and their country, as the Pennsylvania mutineers have done, by insulting the sovereign authority of the United States, and that of their own, I feel an inexpressible satisfaction, that even this behaviour cannot stain the name of the American soldiery. It cannot be imputable to, or reflect dishonour on, the army at large; but, on the contrary it will, by the striking contrast it exhibits hold up to public view the other troops in the most advantageous point of light. Upon taking all the circumstances into consideration, I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and indignation at the arrogance, the folly and the wickedness of the mutineers;

can I sufficiently admire the fidelity, the bravery, and patriotism, which must for ever signalize the unsullied character of the other corps of our army. For, when we consider that these Pennsylvania levies, who have now mutinied, are recruits and soldiers of a day, who have not borne the heat and burden of the war, and who can have, in reality, very few hardships to complain of; and when we recollect that those soldiers who have lately been furloughed from this army, are the veterans who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness, and cold; who have suffered and bled without a murmur; and who, with perfect good order, have retired to their homes without a settlement of their accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets; we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter, as we are struck with horror and detestation at the proceedings of the former; and every candid mind, without indulging ill grounded prejudices, will, undoubtedly, make the proper discrimination."

While arrangements were making for the final dismission of the army, general Washington was looking forward with anxiety to the future destinies of the United States. Much of his attention was devoted to a serious consideration of such establishments as

the independence of his country required. On these subjects he freely communicated with congress, and particularly recommended, that great diligence should be used in forming a well-regulated and disciplined militia during peace, as the best means for securing the future tranquillity and respectability of the nation. He also addressed the following circular letter to the governors of each of the states:—

"Head Quarters, Newburg,
June 13th, 1783.

"Sir,

"The great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement which it is well known I left with the greatest reluctance, a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose. But before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour; to offer my sentiments respecting

specting some important subjects which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States; to take my leave of your excellency as a public character; and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life, for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always continue no inconsiderable part of my own.

"Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated, we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of light.

"The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniencies of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency: they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity. Here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment; but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly, than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an æpocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period. Researches of the human mind after social happiness, have been carried

ried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long tract of years, are laid open before us, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied to the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens shall not be completely free and happy, the fault will be their own.

"Such is our situation, and such are our prospects. But, notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us; notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion and make it our own; yet it appears to me there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation, this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them—this is the time

to establish or ruin their national character for ever—this is the favourable moment to give such a tone to the federal government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the states shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall, and by their confirmation or lapse it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse—a blessing or a curse not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

"With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime: I will therefore speak to your excellency the language of freedom and sincerity without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation what

what I know is alone the result of the purest intention: but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives; the part I have hitherto acted in life; the determination I have formed, of not taking any share in public business hereafter; the ardent desire I feel, and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later convince my countrymen that I could have no sinister views in delivering with so little reserve the opinions contained in this address.

"There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States as an independent power.

"First, An indissoluble union of the states under one federal head.

"Secondly, A sacred regard to public justice.

"Thirdly, The adoption of a proper peace establishment; and,

"Fourthly, The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite

quisite

quisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the good of the community.

"These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported; liberty is the basis; and whoever would dare to sap the foundation or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

"On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

"Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, Whether it be expedient and requisite for the states to delegate a larger proportion of power to congress or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert, without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions:—That, unless the states will suffer congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with

with by the constitution, every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion. That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states, that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration. That there must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every state with the late proposals and demands of congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue. That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And, lastly, that unless we can be enabled, by the concurrence of the states, to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a subject of regret, that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose, that so many sufferings have been encountered without a compensation,

and

and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain.—Many other considerations might here be adduced, to prove, that, without an entire conformity to the spirit of the union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported amongst foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on a dissolution of the union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature; or we may find, by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

"As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the states are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion

opinion no real friend to the honour and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honourable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised, and that if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such is the alternative now offered to the states. The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence is not to be doubted; and inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting. The path of our duty is plain before us; honesty will be found on every experiment to be the best and only true policy. Let us then as a nation be just—let us fulfil the public contracts, which congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose

ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours, every one will enjoy his own acquisitions without molestation and without danger.

"In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the beginning of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if, at the expence of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found who wishes to remain in debt, for the defence of his own person and property, to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up and propose measures purposely calculated

to

to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And, were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the states; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there should be a refusal to comply with requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed; congress, who have in all their transactions shewn a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man, and that state alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences.

"For my own part, conscious of having acted, while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the

the real interests of my country; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure pledged myself to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not wishing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half pay and commutation granted by congress to the officers of the army. From these communications my decided sentiments will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons which induced me at an early period to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of congress, the army, and myself, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudices and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say any thing more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of congress now alluded to are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding upon the United States as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed has in some instances prevailed, that the half pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in

in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever; that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to the officers of the army for services then to be performed. It was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service. It was a part of their hire, I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood and of your independency. It is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour, it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

"With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps as generally had ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation. In others, if, besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages, of clothing, and wages (in which articles all the component

parts of the army must be put upon the same footing), we take into the estimate the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation, every circumstance being duly considered, will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances), or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause. But neither the adoption or rejection of this proposition will in any manner effect, much less militate against the act of congress, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

"Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates, who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of congress of the 23d April 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar suffer-

ings,

ings, their singular merits, and claim to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs, in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your state to the warmest patronage of your excellency and your legislature.

"It is necessary to say but a few words to the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic; as there can be little doubt but congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and respectable footing. If this should be the case, I should beg leave, in the strongest terms, to urge the great advantage of so wise a measure.

"The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility. It is essential therefore that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform, and that the same species of arms, accoutrement and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion, which result from a contrary system or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

"If in treating of political points a greater latitude than usual has been taken, in the course of the address, the importance of the crisis, and the magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology. It is, however, neither my wish nor expectation that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice, calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence from my actual observations

and, if it would not swell this letter, already too prolix, beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind open to conviction, that in less time and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have in too many instances resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular states; that the inefficacy of the measures arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of congress in some of the states, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering, than that

which I have had the honour to command. But while I mention these things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens, so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual states on many interesting occasions.

"I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known, before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me. The task is now accomplished; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magistrate of your state; at the same time, I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

"It remains then to be my final and only request, that your excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting, and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished on all occasions to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

"I now make it my earnest prayer, that

God would have you and the state over which you preside in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government, to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large, and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the divine author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

"I have the honour to be," &c.

The second of November was fixed for discharging that part of the army which was engaged to serve during the war. On that day, general Washington issued his farewell orders to the armies of the United States, in the following words:

"Rocky-Hill, near Princeton,
"Nov. 2d 1783.

"The United States in congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony

to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service on and after to-morrow; which proclamation, having been communicated in the public papers, for the information and government of all concerned, it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States, however widely dispersed the individuals who compose them may be, and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell!

"But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight view of the past. He will, then, take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct, which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by acknowledging the obligations he feels himself under, for the spirited and able assistance he has

experienced

experienced from them in the performance of an arduous office.

"A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances, on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

"It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs.

"Every American officer and soldier must now console himself, for any unpleasant circumstance

cumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events, which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men, who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who, that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

"It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture,

ture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive, that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

"In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment

cumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events, which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men, who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who, that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

"It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture,

ture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive, that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

"In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment

cumstance which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events, which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action; nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who, that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men, who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who, that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

"It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture,

ture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive, that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

"In order to effect this desirable purpose, and remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachment

a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable."—Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you, if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox being next, turned to him: incapable of utterance, Washington grasped his hand, and embraced him. The officers came up successively, and he took an affectionate leave of each of them. Not a word was articulated on either side. A majestic silence prevailed. The tear of sensibility glistened in every eye. The tenderness of the scene exceeded all description. When the last officer had taken his leave, Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry to the place of embarkation. The officers followed in a solemn mute procession, with dejected countenances. On his entering the barge, to cross the north river, he turned towards the companions of his glory, and by waving his hat bid them a silent adieu. Some of them answered this last signal of respect and affection with tears; and all of them hung upon the barge, which conveyed him from their sight, till they could

no longer distinguish in it the person of their beloved commander in chief.

The army being disbanded, the commander in chief proceeded to Annapolis, then the seat of congress, to resign his commission. On his way thither, he delivered to the comptroller in Philadelphia an account of the expenditure of all the public money he had ever received. This was in his own hand writing, and the entries were made in a very particular manner. Vouchers were produced for every item, except for secret intelligence and service, which amounted to no more than £.1,982 10s. sterling.

The whole which in the course of eight years of war had passed through his hands amounted to no more than, £.14,479. 18. 9½ sterling. Nothing was charged or retained as a reward for personal services; and actual disbursements had been managed with such œconomy and fidelity, that they were all covered by the above moderate sum.

After accounting, from his own motion, for all his expenditures of public money (secret service money for obvious reasons excepted) with all the exactness which established forms required from the inferior officers of his army, he hastened to resign into the hands of the

fathers of his country the powers with whi they had invested him.

This was done in a public audience. Co gress received him as the founder and guardi of their republic. While he appeared befo them, they silently retraced the scenes danger and distress through which they h passed together. They recalled to mind t blessings of freedom and peace, purchased b his arm. They gazed with wonder on the fellow citizen, who appeared more great a worthy of esteem in resigning his power, tha he had done in gloriously using it. Eve heart was big with emotion. Tears of adm ration and gratitude burst from every ey This general sympathy was felt by the resig ing hero, whose checks ran down with a manl tear.

After a decent pause, he addressed Thom Mifflin, the president of congress, in the fo lowing words:

"Mr. President,

"The great events on which my resigna tion depended having at length taken plac I have now the honour of offering my since congratulations to congress, and of presentin myself before them, to surrender into thei hands the trust committed to me, and t

clai

laim the indulgence of retiring from the ervice of my country.

" Happy in the confirmation of our inde-endence and sovereignty, and pleased with he opportunity afforded the United States of ecoming a respectable nation, I resign with atisfaction the appointment I accepted with iffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to ac-omplish so arduous a task, which, however, as superseded by a confidence in the recti-ude of our cause, the support of the supreme ower of the union, and the patronage of eaven.

" The successful termination of the war as verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

" While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge in this place the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, Sir, to recommend in

particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

"I consider it as an indispensable duty, to close this last solemn act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

This address being ended, general Washington advanced, and delivered his commission* into the hands of the president of congress, who replied as follows: "The

* The commission now returned to congress had been received from them shortly after the commencement of hostilities. It was accompanied with an unanimous resolution of the delegates of the United Colonies; "That they would maintain, assist, and adhere to George Washington with their lives and fortunes the cause of American liberty." The commission, drawn by a special committee, was in the following words:

" The United States in congress assembled receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war.

" Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you.

" You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude. Invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes, you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by

---

" To George Washington, esquire.

" We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be general and commander in chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

" And we do hereby strictly charge and require all

by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence. On which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

"Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessing of your fellow citizens. But the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command, it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

"We

officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

"And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessaries.

"And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive

"We join with you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded to them, of becoming a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care, that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

The military services of general Washington, which ended with this interesting day, were as great as ever were performed by any man to any nation. They were at the same time disinterested. How dear would not a mercenary man have sold such toils, such dangers,

---

ceive from this or a future congress of these United Colonies, or committee of congress.

"This commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future congress.

"By order of congress,

"Peyton Randolph, President.

"June 17th 1775. "Charles Thomson, Secretary."

At the time this commission was accepted, the United States were without established government, arms, magazines, forts, money, trade, navy, disciplined troops, experienced generals and allies. At the same time they

dangers, and, above all, such successes! What schemes of grandeur and of power would not an ambitious man have built upon the affections of the people and of the army! The gratitude of America was so lively, that any thing asked by her resigning chief would have been readily granted. He asked nothing for himself, his family, or relations, but indirectly solicited favours for the confidential officers who were attached to his person. These were young gentlemen without fortune, who had served him in the capacity of aides-de-camp. To omit the opportunity which was offered, of recommending them to the notice of congress, would have argued a degree of insensibility in the breast of their friend. The only privilege, distinguishing him from other private citizens, which the retiring

Washington

were denounced by their sovereign, as in a state of rebellion. Washington, by accepting the command of their armies, not only subjected one of the largest estates in America to confiscation, but his life to execution. The diffidence he avowed on the occasion, was not the common cant of successful candidates for promotion, nor did it arise from apprehensions of personal danger, but was the offspring of excessive modesty; though willing to risk every thing on the contest, he really distrusted his ability to contend in regular warfare with the experienced generals of Britain. The doubts and fears which for some time kept him in suspense, at length

yielded

Washington did or would receive from his grateful country, was a right of sending and receiving letters free of postage.

The American chief, having by his own voluntary act become one of the people, hastened with ineffable delight to his seat at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potowmac. There, in a short time, the most successful general in the world became the most diligent farmer in Virginia.

To pass suddenly from the toils of the first public commission in the United States, to the care of a farm; to exchange the instruments of war for the implements of husbandry, and to become at once the patron and example of ingenious and profitable agriculture; would to most men have been a difficult task; but to the elevated mind of the late commander in chief of the armies of the

yielded to a conviction of duty, and the urgent intreaties of friends who appreciated his talents more correctly than he did himself. On the event of his declining the high commission, as was for some time expected, it was privately resolved to confer it on general Ward of Massachusetts. What would have been the issue of the military opposition of America, conducted by that much esteemed officer, no one can tell; but, without invidious comparison, it may be safely affirmed that it could not have been more successful than under the auspices of Washington.

the United States, it was natural and delightful: and should these pages descend to posterity, and war continue ages hence to be the means of establishing national justice, let the commanders of armies learn, from the example of general Washington, that the fame which is acquired by the sword, without guilt or ambition, may be preserved without power or splendor in private life.

CHAP. X.

General Washington, on retiring from public life, devotes himself to agricultural pursuits.—Favours inland navigation; declines offered emoluments from it.—Urges an alteration of the fundamental rules of the society of the Cincinnati.—Regrets the defects of the federal system, and recommends a revisal of it.—Is appointed a member of the continental convention for that purpose, which, after hesitation, he accepts.—Is afterwards chosen president.—Is solicited to accept the presidency of the United States.—Writes letters, expressive of the conflict of his mind between duty and inclination.—Answers applicants for offices.

THE sensations of Washington on retiring from public business are thus expressed in his private letters: "I feel as a wearied traveller must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed, and from his house top is looking back, and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way, and into which none but the all-powerful guide and dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling." "I have become a private citizen on the banks of the Potowmac, and,

and, under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig tree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame—the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all—and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in the hope of catching a gracious smile—can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life until I sleep with my fathers."

Agriculture, which had always been the favourite employment of Washington, was now resumed with increasing delight. The energies of his active mind were devoted to this first and most useful art. No improvements in the construction of farming utensils, no valuable experiments in husbandry, escaped

his attention. He saw, with regret, the miserable system of cultivation which prevailed too generally in his native country, and wished to introduce a better. With this view, he engaged in a correspondence with some of the distinguished agriculturists in Great Britain, particularly the celebrated Arthur Young. He traced the different states of agriculture in the two countries in a great degree to the following obvious principles. In Great Britain, land was dear and labour cheap. In America, the reverse took place to such a degree, that manuring land was comparatively neglected, on the mistaken, short sighted idea, that it was cheaper to clear and cultivate new fields, than to improve and repair such as were old. To this radical error, which led to idleness and a vagabond dispersed population, he opposed the whole weight of his influence. His example and recommendations tended to revolutionize the agriculture of his country, as his valour had revolutionized its government.

The extension of inland navigation occupied much of Washington's attention at this period of exemption from public cares. Soon after peace was proclaimed, he made a tour as far west as Pittsburg, and also traversed the western parts of New England and New York,

rk, and examined for himself the difficul-
s of bringing the trade of the west to dif-
rent points on the Atlantic. Possessed of
n accurate knowledge of the subject, he
corresponded with the governors of different
states, and other influential characters. To
them he suggested the propriety of mak-
ing, by public authority, an appointment
of commissioners, of integrity and ability, —
whose duty it should be, after accurate exa-
mination, to ascertain the nearest and best
portages between such of the eastern and
western rivers as headed near to each other,
though they ran in opposite directions; and
also to trace the rivers west of the Ohio to
their sources and mouths, as they respectively
emptied either into the Ohio or the lakes of
Canada, and to make an accurate map of
the whole, with observations on the impedi-
ments to be overcome and the advantages to
be acquired on the completion of the work.

The views of Washington, in advocating the
extension of inland navigation, were grand
and magnificent. He considered it as a
effectual mean of cementing the union
the states. In his letter to the governor
Virginia, he observed, "I need not rem
to you, Sir, that the flanks and rear of
United States are possessed by other po

and formidable ones too; nor need I press the necessity of applying the cement of interest, to bind all parts of the union together by indissoluble bonds, especially of binding that part of it which lies immediately west of us, to the middle states. For what ties, let me ask, should we have upon those people, how entirely unconnected with them shall we be, and what troubles may we not apprehend, if the Spaniards on their right, and Great Britain on their left, instead of throwing impediments in their way, as they do now, should hold out lures for their trade and alliance? When they get strength, which will be sooner than most people conceive, what will be the consequence of their having formed close commercial connexions with both or either of those powers, it needs not in my opinion the gift of prophecy to foretell." After stating the same thing to a member of congress, he proceeds, "It may be asked, how are we to prevent this? Happily for us, the way is plain. Our immediate interests as well as remote political advantages point to it, whilst a combination of circumstances render the present time more favourable than any other to accomplish it. Extend the inland navigation of the eastern waters, communicate them as near as possible with those which

which run westward, open these to the Ohio, open alſo such as extend from the Ohio towards lake Erie, and we shall not only draw the produce of the western settlers, but the peltry and fur trade of the lakes also, to our ports; thus adding an immense increase to our exports, and binding those people to us by a chain which never can be broken."

The Virginia legislature acted on the recommendation of general Washington, to the extent of his wishes, and in consequence, works of the greatest utility have been nearly accomplished. They went one step farther, and by a legislative act vested in him, at the expense of the state, one hundred and fifty shares in the navigation of the rivers Potowmac and James. The act for this purpose was introduced with the following preamble: "Whereas it is the desire of the representatives of this commonwealth to embrace every suitable occasion of testifying their sense of the unexampled merits of George Washington, esquire, towards his country, and it is their wish in particular that those great works for its improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage will be durable monuments of his glory, ma

be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country;—Be it enacted," &c.

To the friend who conveyed to Washington the first intelligence of this bill he replied, "It is not easy for me to decide by which my mind was most affected upon the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, surprise or gratitude. Both were greater than I have words to express. The attention and good wishes which the assembly has evidenced, by their act for vesting in me one hundred and fifty shares in the navigation of the rivers Potowmac and James, is more than mere compliment. There is an unequivocal and substantial meaning annexed. But believe me, Sir, no circumstance has happened, since I left the walks of public life, which has so much embarrassed me. On the other hand, I consider this act as a noble and unequivocal proof of the good opinion, the affection, and disposition of my country to serve me, and I should be hurt, if, by declining the acceptance of it, my refusal should be construed into disrespect, or the smallest slight upon the generous intention of the legislature, or that an ostentatious display of disinterestedness or public virtue was the source of refusal.

"On

"On the other hand, it is really my wish to have my mind, and my actions, which are the result of reflection, as free and independent as the air, that I may be more at liberty to express my sentiments, and, if necessary, to suggest what may occur to me under the fullest conviction, that, although my judgment may be arraigned, there will be no suspicion that sinister motives had the smallest influence in the suggestion. Not content, then, with the bare consciousness of my having in all this navigation business acted upon the clearest conviction of the political importance of the measure, I would wish that every individual who may hear that it was a favourite plan of mine, may know also, that I had no other motive for promoting it, than the advantage of which I conceived it would be productive to the union at large, and to this state in particular, by cementing the eastern and western territory together, at the same time that it will give vigour to and increase our commerce, and be a convenience to our citizens.

"How would this matter be viewed, then, by the eye of the world; and what opinion would be formed, when it comes to be related that G—— W——n exerted himself to effect this work, and that G—— W——n has received

received twenty thousand dollars, and five thousand pounds sterling of the public money, as an interest therein? Would not this (if I am entitled to any merit for the part I have performed, and without it there is no foundation for the act) deprive me of the principal thing which is laudable in my conduct? Would it not in some respects be considered in the same light as a pension? and would not the apprehensions of this induce me to offer my sentiments in future with the more reluctance? In a word, under whatever pretence, and however customary these gratuities may be in other countries, should I not thenceforward be considered as a dependent? one moment's thought of which would give me more pain, than I should receive pleasure from the product of all the tolls, was every farthing of them vested in me."

To the governor of the state, on receiving from him an official copy of the aforesaid act, Washington replied as follows:

"Sir,

"Your excellency having been pleased to transmit me a copy of the act appropriating to my benefit certain shares in the companies for opening the navigation of James and Potowmac rivers; I take the liberty of returning to the general assembly, through your

hands, the profound and grateful acknowledgments inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards me. I beg you, Sir, to assure them, that I am filled on this occasion with every sentiment which can flow from a heart warm with love to my country, sensible to every token of its approbation and affection, and solicitous to testify in every instance a respectful submission to its wishes.

" With these sentiments in my bosom, I need not dwell on the anxiety I feel in being obliged, in this instance, to decline a favour which is rendered no less flattering by the manner in which it is conveyed, than it is affectionate in itself. In explaining this, I pass over a comparison of my endeavours in the public service, with the many honourable testimonies of approbation which have already so far overrated and overpaid them, reciting one consideration only, which supersedes the necessity of recurring to every other.

" When I was first called to the station with which I was honoured during the late conflict for our liberties, to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a firm resolution to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense. To this resolution I

have invariably adhered, and from it (if I had the inclination) I do not consider myself at liberty now to depart.

"Whilst I repeat therefore my fervent acknowledgments to the legislature, for their very kind sentiments and intentions in my favour, and at the same time beg them to be persuaded that a remembrance of this singular proof of their goodness towards me will never cease to cherish returns of the warmest affection and gratitude, I must pray that their act, so far as it has for its object my personal emolument, may not have its effect; but if it should please the general assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me, from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honour conferred upon me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the legislature."

The wishes suggested in this letter were sanctioned by the legislature, and at a subsequent time the trust was executed by conveying the shares respectively to the use of a seminary of learning in the vicinity of each river.

Previously to the close of this war, the officers of the American army, with a view of perpetuating their friendships, formed

themselves into a society, to be named after the famous Roman patriot Cincinnatus; at the head of which, general Washington was placed. By the rules of their institution, the honours were to be hereditary in their respective families; and distinguished individuals might be admitted as honorary members for life. These circumstances, together with the union of the officers of the army, gave an alarm to the community, several individuals of which supposed that the hereditary part of the institution would be a germ of nobility. It was the usual policy of Washington, to respect the opinions of the people, in matters indifferent or of small magnitude, though he might think them mistaken. Having ascertained, to his own satisfaction, that a degree of jealousy pervaded the mass of the people, respecting the probable tendency of this perpetual hereditary society, he successfully exerted his influence to new model its rules, by relinquishing the hereditary principle, and the power of adopting honorary members. The result proved the wisdom of the measure; for all jealousies of the society henceforward were done away, and its members were received as brethren by the most suspicious of their fellow citizens.

When

When Washington, at the termination of the revolutionary war, became a private citizen, his country confidently anticipated every possible blessing from peace, independence, and self government. But experience soon proved the inefficacy of existing systems for promoting national happiness, or preserving national dignity. Congress had neither the power nor the means of doing justice to public creditors, nor of enforcing the respect of foreign nations. Gold and silver vanished, commerce languished, property was depreciated, and credit expired. The lovers of liberty and independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a visionary fabric of government on the fallacious ideas of public virtue. For the first five or six years immediately following peace, the splendour which surrounded the infant states, from their successful struggle in the cause of independence and self government, was daily darkening. This state of things could not be indifferent to Washington. He was among the first to discover the cause, and to point out the remedy. The inefficient support he received, while commander in chief, proved the inadequacy of the articles of confederation for raising and supporting a

requisite military force—The experience of the first years of peace, proved their total want of means, for the purpose of national government. From deficiency of vigour in the federal head, the United States were fast dwindling into separate sovereignties, unconnected by any bond of union, equal to public exigency. The private letters of Washington at this time, shew his anxiety for his country's welfare, and his wisdom in pointing out a remedy for its degradation. In one of them, he observes "The confederation appears to me to be little more than a shadow without the substance, and congress a nugatory body, their ordinances being little attended to. To me it is a solecism in politics, indeed it is one of the most extraordinary things in nature, that we should confederate as a nation, and yet be afraid to give the rulers of that nation, who are the creatures of our own making, appointed for a limited and short duration, and who are amenable for every action, recallable at any moment, and subject to all the evils which they may be instrumental in producing, sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of the same. By such policy as this, the wheels of government are clogged; and our brightest prospects, and that high expectation which was entertained of us by the wondering

wondering world, are turned into astonishment; and from the high ground on which we stood, we are descending into the vale of confusion and darkness.

"That we have it in our power to become one of the most respectable nations upon earth, admits in my humble opinion of no doubt, if we would but pursue a wise, just, and liberal policy towards one another, and would keep good faith with the rest of the world. That our resources are ample and increasing, none can deny; but while they are grudgingly applied or not applied at all, we give a vital stab to public faith, and will sink in the eyes of Europe into contempt."—In another, "It is one of the evils of democratic governments, that the people, not always seeing, and frequently misled, must often feel before they are set right. But evils of this nature seldom fail to work their own cure. It is to be lamented, nevertheless, that the remedies are so slow, and that those who wish to apply them seasonably, are not attended to before they suffer in person, in interest, and in reputation. I am not without hopes that matters will soon take a favourable turn in the federal constitution. The discerning part of the community have long since seen the necessity of giving adequate powers to congress

congress for national purposes; and those of a different description must yield to it ere long."

In a letter to Mr. Jay, general Washington observed, "Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be, is also beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errors to correct: we have probably had too good an opinion of human nature, in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us, that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive we can subsist long as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the whole union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the state governments extends over the several states. To be fearful of investing congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could congress exert them for the detriment of the people, without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointment, must they

they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them on many occasions very timidly and inefficaciously, for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it; perfection falls not to the share of mortals. Many are of opinion, that congress have too frequently made use of the suppliant, humble tone of requisition, in applications to the states, when they had a right to assert their imperial dignity, and command obedience. Be that as it may, requisitions are a perfect nullity, where thirteen sovereign, independent, disunited states, are in the habit of discussing and refusing or complying with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest, and a byword throughout the land. If you tell the legislatures, they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What, then, is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever. It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with these circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever.

ever. We are apt to run from one extreme into another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies, would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking, thence to acting is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for our enemies, to verify their predictions! what a triumph for the advocates of despotism, to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves; and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty, are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time, to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

"Retired as I am from the world, I frankly acknowledge I cannot feel myself an unconcerned spectator. Yet, having happily assisted in bringing the ship into port, and having been fairly discharged, it is not my business to embark again on a sea of troubles.

"Nor could it be expected, that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given, as a last legacy,

in

in the most solemn manner. I had then perhaps some claims to public attentions. I consider myself as having none at present."

Illumination on the subject of enlarging the powers of congress was gradual. Washington, in his extensive correspondence and intercourse with the leading characters of the different states, urged the necessity of a radical reform in the existing system of government. The business was at length seriously taken up, and a proposition was made by Virginia, for electing deputies to a general convention, for the sole purpose of revising the federal system of government.

While this proposition was under consideration, an event took place which pointed out the propriety of its adoption. The pressure of evils in a great degree resulting from the imbecility of government, aided by erroneous opinions, which confound liberty with licentiousness, produced commotions in Massachusetts which amounted to treason and rebellion. On this occasion Washington expressed himself in a letter as follows: "The commotions and temper of numerous bodies in the eastern country, present a state of things equally to be lamented and deprecated. They exhibit a melancholy verification of what our transatlantic foes have predicted, and

and of another thing perhaps which is still more to be regretted, and is yet more unaccountable, that mankind, when left to themselves, are unfit for their own government. I am mortified beyond expression, when I view the clouds which have spread over the brightest morn that ever dawned upon my country. In a word, I am lost in amazement, when I behold what intrigue, the interested views of desperate characters, ignorance, and jealousy of the minor part, are capable of effecting, as a scourge on the major part of our fellow citizens of the union; for it is hardly to be supposed that the great body of the people, though they will not act, can be so short sighted or enveloped in darkness, as not to see rays of a distant sun through all this mist of intoxication and folly.

"You talk, my good Sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found, nor, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for these disorders. Influence is not government. Let us have a government by which our lives, liberties, and properties will be secured, or let us know the worst at once. Under these impressions, my humble opinion is, that there is a call for decision. Know precisely what the insurgents aim

aim at; if they have real grievances, redress them if possible, or acknowledge the justice of them, and your inability to do it in the present moment. If they have not, employ the force of government against them at once. If this is inadequate, all will be convinced that the superstructure is bad, or wants support. To be more exposed in the eyes of the world, and more contemptible, is hardly possible. To delay one or the other of these expedients, is to exasperate on the one hand or to give confidence on the other, and will add to their numbers, for, like snow-balls, such bodies increase by every movement, unless there is something in the way to obstruct and crumble them, before their weight is too great and irresistible.

"These are my sentiments. Precedents are dangerous things. Let the reins of government then be braced and held with a steady hand, and every violation of the constitution be reprehended. If defective, let it be amended, but not suffered to be trampled upon while it has an existence."

Virginia placed the name of Washington at the head of her delegates for the proposed convention. Letters poured in upon him from all sides, urging his acceptance of the appointment. In answer to one from Mr. Madison,

Madison, who had been the principal advocate of the measure in the Virginia legislature, general Washington replied, "Although I have bid an open adieu to the public walks of life, and had resolved never more to tread that theatre, yet if, upon any occasion so interesting to the well-being of our confederacy, it had been the wish of the assembly that I should be an associate in the business of revising the federal system, I should, from a sense of the obligation I am under for repeated proofs of confidence in me, more than from any opinion I could entertain of my usefulness, have obeyed its call; but it is now out of my power to do this with any degree of consistency—the cause I will mention.

"I presume you heard, Sir, that I was first appointed, and have since been rechosen president of the society of the Cincinnati; and you may have understood also, that the triennial general meeting of this body is to be held in Philadelphia the first Monday in May next. Some particular reasons combining with the peculiar situation of my private concerns, the necessity of paying attention to them, a wish for retirement, and relaxation from public cares, and rheumatic pains which I begin to feel, very sensibly induced

induced me, on the 31st ultimo, to address a circular letter to each state society, informing them of my intention not to be at the next meeting, and of my desire not to be rechosen president. The vice president is also informed of this, that the business of the society may not be impeded by my absence. Under these circumstances, it will readily be perceived that I could not appear at the same time and place on any other occasion, without giving offence to a very respectable and deserving part of the community—the late officers of the American army."

The meeting of the convention was postponed to a day subsequent to that of the meeting of the Cincinnati. This removed one of the difficulties in the way of Washington's acceptance of a seat in the convention, and, joined with the importance of the call, and his own eager desire to advance the public interest, finally induced his compliance with the wishes of his friends.

The convention met in Philadelphia in May, and unanimously chose George Washington their president. On the 17th of September 1787, they closed their labours, and preferred the result to congress, with their opinion, "that it should be submitted to a 1787.

convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification."

By this new form of government, ample powers were given to congress, without the intervention of the states, for every purpose that national dignity, interest, or happiness required.

The ablest pens and most eloquent tongues were employed for and against its acceptance. In this animated contest Washington took no part. Having with his sword vindicated the right of his country to supreme authority over itself, and having with his advice aided in digesting an efficient form of government, which he most thoroughly approved, it would seem as though he wished the people to decide for themselves whether to accept or reject it.

The constitution being accepted by eleven states, and preparatory measures being taken for bringing it into operation, all eyes were turned to Washington, as being the fittest man for the office of president of the United States. His correspondents began to press his acceptance of the high office, as essential to the well-being of his country.

To those who think that Washington was like other men, it will scarcely appear possible that supreme magistracy possessed no charms sufficient to tempt him from his beloved retirement, when he was healthy and strong, and only fifty-seven years old; but if an opinion can be formed of his real sentiments, from the tenor of his life and confidential communications to his most intimate friends, a conviction will be produced, that his acceptance of the presidency of the United States was the result of a victory obtained by a sense of duty over his inclinations, and was a real sacrifice of the latter to the former.

In a letter to colonel Henry Lee, Washington observes, "Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my increasing fondness for agricultural amusements, and my growing love of retirement, augment and confirm my decided predilection for the character of a private citizen; yet it will be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, nor the terror of encountering new fatigues and troubles, that would deter me from an acceptance, but a belief that some other person, who had less pretence and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself. To say more would be

indiscreet, as a disclosure of a refusal beforehand might incur the application of the fable, in which the fox is represented as undervaluing the grapes he could not reach. You will perceive, my dear Sir, by what is here observed, (and which you will be pleased to consider in the light of a confidential communication) that my inclinations will dispose and decide me to remain as I am, unless a clear and insurmountable conviction should be impressed on my mind, that some very disagreeable consequences must in all human probability result from the indulgence of my wishes."

And in another letter to colonel Hamilton, he says, " If I am not grossly deceived in myself, I should unfeignedly rejoice, in case the electors, by giving their votes to some other person, would save me from the dreadful dilemma of being forced to accept or refuse. If that may not be, I am in the next place earnestly desirous of searching out the truth, and of knowing whether there does not exist a probability, that the government would just as happily and effectually be carried into execution without my aid as with it. I am truly solicitous to obtain all the previous information which the circumstances will afford, and to determine, when the determination can no longer be postponed, according to the principles

ciples of right reason, and the dictates of a clear conscience, without too great a reference to the unforeseen consequences which may affect my person or reputation. Until that period, I may fairly hold myself open to conviction, though I allow your sentiments to have weight in them, and I shall not pass by your arguments without giving them as dispassionate a consideration as I can possibly bestow upon them.

" In taking a survey of the subject, in whatever point of light I have been able to place it, I will not suppress the acknowledgment, my dear Sir, that I have always felt a kind of gloom upon my mind, as often as I have been taught to expect I might, and perhaps must be called upon ere long to make the decision. You will, I am well assured, believe the assertion, though I have little expectation it would gain credit from those who are less acquainted with me, that if I should receive the appointment, and should be prevailed upon to accept it, the acceptance would be attended with more difficulty and reluctance than I ever experienced before. It would be, however, with a fixed and sole determination, of lending whatever assistance might be in my power to promote the public weal, in hopes that at a convenient and early

period my services might be dispensed with, and that I might be permitted once more to retire, to pass an unclouded evening, after the stormy day of life, in the bosom of domestic tranquillity."

Again, to general Lincoln, he observes, "I may, however, with great sincerity, and, I believe, without offending against modesty and propriety, say to you, that I most heartily wish the choice to which you allude might not fall upon me, and that if it should, I must reserve to myself the right of making up my final decision at the last moment, when it can be brought into one view, and when the expediency or inexpediency of a refusal can be more judiciously determined than at present. But be assured, my dear Sir, if from any inducement I shall be persuaded ultimately to accept, it will not be, so far as I know my own heart, from any of a private or personal nature. Every personal consideration conspires to rivet me (if I may use the expression) to retirement. At my time of life, and under my circumstances, nothing in this world can ever draw me from it, unless it be a conviction, that the partiality of my countrymen had made my services absolutely necessary, joined to a fear that my refusal might induce a belief, that I preferred

preferred the conservation of my own reputation, and private ease, to the good of my country. After all, if I should conceive myself in a manner constrained to accept, I call heaven to witness, that this very act would be the greatest sacrifice of my personal feelings and wishes, that ever I have been called upon to make. It would be to forego repose and domestic enjoyment for trouble, perhaps for public obloquy; for I should consider myself as entering upon an unexplored field, enveloped on every side with clouds and darkness.

"From this embarrassing situation I had naturally supposed that my declarations at the close of the war would have saved me, and that my sincere intentions, then publicly made known, would have effectually precluded me for ever afterwards from being looked upon as a candidate for any office. This hope, as a last anchor of worldly happiness in old age, I had carefully preserved, until the public papers, and private letters from my correspondents in almost every quarter, taught me to apprehend that I might soon be obliged to answer the question, whether I would go again into public life or not?"

And to the marquis de la Fayette he writes, "Your sentiments, indeed, coincide much more nearly with those of my other friends, than with my own feelings. In truth, my difficulties increase and magnify as I draw towards the period when, according to the common belief, it will be necessary for me to give a definitive answer in one way or other. Should circumstances render it in a manner inevitably necessary to be in the affirmative, be assured, my dear Sir, I shall assume the task with the most unfeigned reluctance, and with a real diffidence for which I shall probably receive no credit from the world. If I know my own heart, nothing short of a conviction of duty will induce me again to take an active part in public affairs. And in that case, if I can form a plan for my own conduct, my endeavours shall be unremittingly exerted, even at the hazard of former fame or present popularity, to extricate my country from the embarrassments in which it is entangled, through want of credit, and to establish a general system of policy, which, if pursued, will ensure permanent felicity to the commonwealth. I think I see a path as clear and as direct as a ray of light, which leads to the attainment of that object. Nothing but harmony,

harmony, honesty, industry, and frugality, are necessary to make us a great and a happy people. Happily, the present posture of affairs, and the prevailing disposition of my countrymen, promise to co-operate in establishing those four great and essential pillars of public felicity."

Before the election of a president came on, so universal was the expectation that Washington would be elected, that numerous applications were made to him, in anticipation, for offices in the government, which would be in his gift. To one of such applicants he wrote as follows:—"Should it become absolutely necessary for me to occupy the station in which your letter presupposes me, I have determined to go into it perfectly free from all engagements of every nature whatsoever. A conduct in conformity to this resolution would enable me, in balancing the various pretensions of different candidates for appointments, to act with a sole reference to justice and the public good. This is, in substance, the answer that I have given to all applications (and they are not few) which have already been made."

CHAP. XI.

ashington elected president; on his way to the seat of government, at New York, receives the most flattering marks of respect.—Addresses congress.—The situation of the United States, in their foreign and domestic relations, at the inauguration of Washington.—Fills up public offices solely with a view to the public good.—Proposes a treaty to the Creek Indians, which is at first rejected.—Colonel Willet induces the heads of the nation to come to New York, to treat there.—The north-western Indians refuse a treaty; but, after defeating generals Harmar and Sinclair, they are defeated by general Wayne; they then submit, and agree to treat.—A new system is introduced for meliorating their condition.

It was intended that the new government should have commenced its operations on the 4th of March, 1789; but from accidental causes, the election of general Washington to the presidency was not officially announced to him at Mount Vernon till the 14th
1789. April following. This was done by Charl Thomson, secretary of the late congre who presented to him the certificate sig by the president of the senate of the Ur States, stating, that George Washingtor unanimously elected president. This pected delay was regretted by the publi

not by the newly chosen president. In a letter to general Knox, he observed, "As to myself, the delay may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I tell you (with the world it would obtain little credit) that my movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution, so unwilling am I, in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination, which are necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible that I am embarking the voice of the people, and a good name of my own, on this voyage; but what returns will be made for them, heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness are all I can promise; these, be the voyage long or short, shall never forsake me, although I may be deserted by all men; for of the consolations which are to be derived from these, under any circumstances, the world cannot deprive me."

On the second day after receiving notice of his appointment, Washington set out for New York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to see the man of the people. Escorts of militia,

and

and of gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from state to state; and he was every where received with the highest honours which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed; to all of which he returned such modest, unassuming answers, as were in every respect suitable to his situation. So great were the honours with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated by them.

Of the numerous addresses which were presented on this occasion, one subscribed by Dennis Ramsay, the mayor of Alexandria, in the name of the people of that city, who were the neighbours of Mr. Washington, was particularly and universally admired. It was in the following words:—

"To

"To George Washington, esquire, president of the United States, &c.

"Again your country commands your care. Obedient to its wishes, unmindful of your ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement, and this too at a period of life when nature itself seems to authorise a preference of repose.

"Not to extol your glory as a soldier; not to pour forth our gratitude for past services; not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy; nor to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct—do your neighbours and friends now address you; themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us; our aged must lose their ornament; our youth their model; our agriculture its improver; our commerce its friend; our infant academy its protector; our poor their benefactor; and the interior navigation of the Potowmack (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already by your unremitted exertions brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter.

"Farewell! Go, and make a grateful people

ple happy—a people who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

"To that Being who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may he restore to us again the best of men, and the most beloved fellow citizen!"

To this Mr. Washington returned the following answer:

"Gentlemen,

"Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe the painful emotions which I felt in being called upon to determine, whether I would accept or refuse the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice, the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as from America, the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire on my own part to be instrumental in connecting the goodwill of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best, (and you, my fellow citizens, are from your situation in that number), know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great,

that

that no earthly consideration short of a conviction of duty could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, 'never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature;' for at my age and in my circumstances, what prospects or advantages could I propose to myself from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

"I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection, and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge of my future conduct.

"In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connexions, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret at parting from the enjoyment of private life.

"All that now remains for me is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who on a former occasion hath

ith happily brought us together, after a long
id distressing separation. Perhaps the same
racious Providence will again indulge me.
Unutterable sensations must, then, be left to
more expressive silence, while from an aching
heart I bid you all, my affectionate friends and
kind neighbours, farewell!"

Gray's bridge over the Schuylkill, which
Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly de-
corated with laurels and evergreens. At each
end of it were erected magnificent arches,
composed of laurels, emblematical of the
antient roman triumphal arches, and on each
side of the bridge was a laurel shrubbery.
As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a
youth, ornamented with sprigs of laurel,
assisted by machinery, let drop above his
head, though unperceived by him, a civic
crown of laurel. Upwards of 20,000 citizens
lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between
the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through
these he was conducted to the city, by
numerous and respectable body of the citizen
where he partook of an elegant entertainme
provided for him. The pleasures of the
were succeeded by a handsome display
fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the
ware, and landed on the Jersey shore

s saluted with three cheers by the inhabi-
ts of the vicinity. When he came to the
w of the hill on his way to Trenton, a
mphal arch was erected on the bridge, by
ection of the ladies of the place. The crown
the arch was ornamented with laurel and
wers, and on it was displayed in large cha-
ters, "December 26th, 1776."* Beneath
sweep of the arch was this inscription,
The Defender of the mothers will also protect
ir daughters." On the north side were
ged a number of female children dressed
white, with garlands on their heads, and
skets of flowers on their arms. In the second
stood the young women, and behind them
married ladies of the vicinity. The instant
passed the arch, the children began to sing
following ode:—

Welcome, mighty Chief, once more
Welcome to this grateful shore!
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow;
Aims at thee the fatal blow.
Virgins fair and Matrons grave,
These thy conquering arm did save;
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye Fair, his way with flowers;
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.

As they sung the last lines they strewed

* See ante, p. 68.

)wers on the road before their beloved
eliverer. His situation on this occasion, con-
rasted with what he had in December 1776
felt on the same spot, when the affairs of
America were at the lowest ebb of depression,
filled him with sensations that cannot be
described. He was rowed across the bay,
from Elizabeth town to New York, in an
elegant barge, by thirteen pilots. All the
vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags.
Stairs were erected and decorated for his re-
ception. On his landing, universal joy diffused
itself through every order of the people, and
he was received and congratulated by the
governor of the state, and officers of the cor-
poration. From the landing place to the house
which had been fitted up for his reception,
a considerable procession of militia in their
uniforms, and of citizens, followed him. I
the evening the houses of the inhabitants we
brilliantly illuminated. A day was soon af
fixed on for his taking the oath of office; wh
was in the following words: "I do solem
swear that I will faithfully execute the offi
president of the United States, and will t
best of my ability preserve, protect, and d
the constitution of the United States." (
occasion he was wholly clothed in Ar
manuf

manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the president and people of the United States. About noon, a procession, followed by a great multitude of citizens, moved from the president's house to federal hall. When they came within a short distance of the hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the vice president Mr. John Adams, passed into the senate chamber. Immediately after, attended by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-street, and before them and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The chancellor then proclaimed George Washington president of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the effusions of shouts from near 10,000 grateful and affectionate hearts. The president bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air

again resounded with acclamations. He then retired to the senate chamber, where he made the following speech to both houses:

"Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives;

"Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month. On the one hand I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and in my flattering hopes with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years, a retreat which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractised in the duties of civil administration,

dministration, ought to be peculiarly con-
cious of his own deficiencies. In this con-
lict of emotions, all I dare aver is, that it
as been my faithful study to collect my
luty from a just appreciation of every circum-
tance by which it might be affected. All I
are hope is, that if, in executing this task, I
ave been too much swayed by a grateful
emembrance of former instances, or by an
ffectionate sensibility to this transcendent
roof of the confidence of my fellow citizens,
nd have thence too little consulted my inca-
acity as well as disinclination for the weighty
nd untried cares before me, my error will be
alliated by the motives which misled me,
nd its consequences be judged by my coun-
ry with some share of the partiality in which
hey originated.

" Such being the impressions under which
have, in obedience to the public summons,
epaired to the present station, it would be
eculiarly improper to omit, in this first official
ct, my fervent supplications to that Almighty
eing who rules over the universe—who pre-
ides in the councils of nations—and whose
rovidential aids can supply every human de-
ect—that his benediction may consecrate to
he liberties and happiness of the people of
he United States a government instituted

by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there

there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

" By the article, establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president ' to recommend to your consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient.' The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther, than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled, and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute, in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them. In those honourable qualifications I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national

policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire—since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the œconomy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity—since we ought to be no less persuaded, that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained—And since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

" Besides the ordinary subjects committed to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power, delegated by the 5th arti-

cle

cle of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

"Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good. For I assure myself, that whilst you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the benefits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

"To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be most properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible.

"When I was first honoured with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve

eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties,
the light in which I contemplated my duty
required that I should renounce every pecu-
niary compensation. From this resolution I
have in no instance departed: and being still
under the impressions which produced it, I
must decline, as inapplicable to myself, any
share in the personal emoluments which may
indispensably be included in a permanent pro-
vision for the executive department, and must
accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimates
for the station in which I am placed may
during my continuance in it be limited to
such actual expenditures as the public good
may be thought to require.

"Having thus imparted to you my senti-
ments, as they have been awakened by the
occasion which brings us together, I shall tak
my present leave, but not without resorti
once more to the benign Parent of the hum
race in humble supplication, that since he
been pleased to favour the American pe
with opportunities for deliberating in pe
tranquillity, and with dispositions for de
with unparalleled unanimity on a fo
government for the security of their
and the advancement of their happi
his divine blessing may be equally con
in the enlarged views, the temperat

tations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

The president and congress then attended divine service.

In the evening a very ingenious and splendid show of fireworks was exhibited. Betwixt the fort and the bowling-green stood conspicuous, a superb and brilliant transparent painting, in the centre of which was the portrait of the president, represented under the emblem of Fortitude; on his right hand was Justice, and on his left Wisdom; one significant of the senate of the United States, the other of the house of representatives.

When Washington commenced his administration, the condition of the United States was so embarrassed, as to excite many fears for the success of the new government. The treasury was empty. Large debts were due, both by the old congress and by individuals, to foreigners, and also from the United States to its own citizens, and from citizens to citizens. Every effort made by the old congress to pay, or even to fund its debts, had failed, from the imbecility of the federal system. Great discontents prevailed in the United States; for the party opposed to the new constitution was strong and numerous. Several of these were elected to seats in the new congress. Some were

were clamorous for a new convention, and the most moderate for amendments of what had been ratified. Two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, by refusing an acceptance of the constitution, were without the pale of its operations.

Animosities prevailed to a great degree between the United States and Great Britain. Each charged the other with a breach of their late treaty. In support of these charges one party urged the severities practised towards the loyalists, and that some of the states had interposed legal impediments to the recovery of debts due to British subjects. The other party recriminated, by alleging that the British, on their departure from the United States, had carried off with them several thousands of negroes belonging to the Americans, and also that the British continued to possess sundry posts within the acknowledged limits of the United States, and that from these posts they encouraged and instigated the neighbouring Indians to make war on their north western frontier settlements.

Spain, from the circumstance of their owning the land on each side of the mouth of the Mississippi, claimed the exclusive navigation of that river, while the western inhabi-

tants

tants of the United States looked to their country for a vindication of their common right to this highway of nature. The boundaries of the United States, towards the territories of Spain in the south, and towards those of Britain in the north east, were both unsettled and in dispute. The whole regular effective force of the United States was less than 600 men.

Their trade was restricted much more than when they formed a part of the British empire. They had neither money to purchase nor a naval force to compel the friendship of the Barbary powers, and were therefore exposed to capture whenever they ventured to trade in the Mediterranean, the coasts of which offered the best markets for some of their valuable commodities.

The military strength of the northern Indians, who inhabited the country between the lakes, the Mississippi, and the Ohio, was computed at 5,000, and of these 1,500 were at open war with the United States. The Creeks in the south west, who could bring 6,000 fighting men into the field, were at war with Georgia.

These were but a part of the embarrassments under which the United States laboured

ed when general Washington was called to the helm. The redress of most of them required legislative interference as well as executive aid. To point out the particular agency of the president, in removing these embarrassments, and generally ameliorating the condition of the United States, is peculiarly the province of the biographer of Washington.

Congress having organised the great departments of government, it became the duty of the executive to designate proper persons to fill them. In discharging this delicate and difficult trust, Washington kept himself free from every engagement, and uniformly declined giving decisive answers to applicants, having previously resolved to nominate persons to offices with a sole view to the public good, and to bring forward those who, upon every consideration and from the best information he could obtain, were, in his judgment, most likely to answer the great end.

Under these impressions, he placed colonel Hamilton at the head of the treasury department.

At the head of the department of foreign affairs he placed Mr. Jefferson.

General

General Knox was continued in the department of war which he had filled under the old congress.

The office of attorney-general was assigned to Mr. Edmund Randolph.

These composed the cabinet council of the first president.

The judicial department was filled as follows:

John Jay, of New York, chief justice.
John Rutledge, of South Carolina,
James Wilson, of Pennsylvania,
William Cushing, of Massachusetts,
Robert Harrison, of Maryland, and
John Blair, of Virginia; associate judges.

The officers who had been appointed by the individual states to manage the revenue, which under the old system was paid into the state treasury, were reappointed to corresponding offices under the new constitution, by which the revenue had been transferred from the local to the general treasury of the union.

It was among the first cares of Washington to make peace with the Indians. General Lincoln, Mr. Griffin, and colonel Humphries, very soon after the inauguration of the president, were deputed by him to treat with the Creeks. These met M'Gillvray and other chiefs

chiefs of that nation, with about 2,000 men, at the Rock landing, on the frontiers of Georgia. The negotiations were soon broken off by M'Gillvray, whose personal interests and connexions with Spain were supposed to have been the real cause of their abrupt and unsuccessful termination. The next year brought round an accomplishment of the president's wishes, which had failed in the first attempt. Policy and interest concurred in recommending every prudent measure for detaching the Creek Indians from all connexion with the Spaniards, and cementing their friendship with the United States. Treaties carried on with them in the vicinity of the Spanish settlements promised less than negotiations conducted at the seat of the general government. To induce a disposition favourable to this change of place, the president sent colonel Willet, a brave and intelligent officer of the late army, into the Creek country, apparently on private business, but with a letter of introduction to M'Gillvray, with instructions to take occasional opportunities to point out the distresses which a war with the United States would bring on the Creek nation, and the indiscretion of their breaking off the negotiation at the Rock landing, and to exhort him

to repair with the chiefs of his nation to New York, in order to effect a solid and lasting peace. Willet performed these duties with so much dexterity, that M'Gillvray, with the chiefs of his nation, were induced to come to New York, where fresh negotiations commenced, which, on the 7th of August 1790, terminated in the establishment of peace.

The pacific overtures made by Washington to the Indians of the Wabash and of the Miamis failed of success. Long experience had taught the president, that on the failure of negotiation with Indians, policy, œconomy, and even humanity required the employment of a sufficient force to carry offensive war into their country, and lay waste their settlements. The accomplishment of this was no easy matter. The Indian nations were numerous, accustomed to war, and not without discipline. They were said to be furnished with arms and ammunition from the British posts held within the United States, in violation of the treaty of peace. Generals Harmar and St. Clair were successively defeated by the Indians; and four or five years elapsed before they were subdued. This was accomplished by general Wayne, in 1794. Soon after that event, a peace was concluded under

his auspices, between these Indians and the United States. In the progress of this last Indian war, repeated overtures of peace were made to the north-western Indians, but rejected. About the same period, a new system was commenced for turning them off from hunting to the employments of civilized life, by furnishing them with implements and instructions for agriculture and manufactures.

In this manner, during the presidency of George Washington, peace was restored to the frontier settlements, both in the north and south west, which has continued ever since, and is likely so to do; while at the same time the prospect of meliorating the condition of the savages is daily brightening; for the system first begun by Washington with the view of civilizing these fierce sons of nature has been ever since steadily pursued by all his successors. Indian wars are now only known from the records or recollection of past events; and it is probable that the day is not far distant, when the United States will receive a considerable accession of citizens from the civilized red men of the forest.

CHAP. XII.

General Washington attends to the foreign relations of the United States.—Negotiates with Spain.—Difficulties in the way.—The free navigation of the Mississippi is granted by a treaty made with major Pinckney.—Negotiations with Britain.—Difficulties in the way.—War probable.—Mr. Jay's mission.—His treaty with Great Britain.—Opposition thereto.—Is ratified.—Washington refuses papers to the house of representatives.—British posts in the United States evacuated.—Negotiations with France.—Genet's arrival.—Assumes powers in violation of the neutrality of the United States.—Is flattered by the people.—But opposed by the executive.—Is recalled.—General Pinckney sent as public minister to adjust disputes with France.—Is not received.—Washington declines a re-election, and addresses the people.—His last address to the national legislature.—Recommends a navy, a military academy, and other public institutions.

EVENTS which had taken place before the inauguration of Washington embarrassed his negotiations for the adjustment of the political relations between the United States and Spain.

In the year 1779, Mr. Jay had been appointed by the old congress to make a treaty with his catholic majesty, but his best endeavours for more than two years were ineffectual. In a fit of despondence, while the revolutionary war was pressing, he had been

authorised by congress to agree "to relinquish, and in future to forbear to use, the navigation of the river Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the United States down to the ocean." After the war was ended, a majority of congress had agreed to barter away, for twenty-five years, their claim to this navigation.

A long and intricate negotiation between M. Gardoqui, the minister of his catholic majesty, and the secretary of foreign affairs, had taken place at New York in the interval between the establishment of peace and of the new constitution of the United States, but was rendered abortive, from the inflexible adherence of M. Gardoqui to the exclusion of the citizens of the United States from navigating the Mississippi below their southern boundary. This unyielding disposition of Spain, the inability of the United States to assert their claims to the navigation of this river, and especially the facility which the old congress had evinced to recede from it for a term of years, had soured the minds of the western settlers. Their impatience transported them so far beyond the bounds of policy, that they sometimes dropped hints of separating from the Atlantic states, and attaching themselves to the Spaniards. In this critical state of things, the president found abundant exercise

for all his prudence. The western inhabitants were in fact thwarting his views in their favour, and encouraging Spain to persist in refusing that free navigation which was so ardently desired both by the president and the people. The adherence of Spain to the exclusive use of the lower Mississippi, and the impolitic discontents of the western inhabitants, were not the only embarrassments of Washington in negotiating with the court of Madrid.

In 1794 four Frenchmen left Philadelphia, empowered by M. Genet, the minister of the French republic, to prepare an expedition in Kentucky against New Orleans. Spain, then at war with France, was at peace with the United States. Washington was officially bound to interpose his authority to prevent the raising of an armed force from among his fellow citizens to commit hostilities on a peaceable neighbouring power. Orders were accordingly given to the civil authority in Kentucky, to use all legal means to prevent this expedition; but the execution of these orders was so very languid, that it became necessary to call in the aid of the regular army. General Wayne was ordered to establish a military force on the Ohio, for the purpose of forcibly stopping any body of armed men who, in

opposition to remonstrances, should persist in going down that river.

Many of the high-spirited Kentuckians were so exasperated against the Spaniards, as to be very willing to second the views of the French minister, and under his auspices to attack New Orleans. The navigation of the Mississippi was so necessary for conveying to proper markets the surplusage of their luxuriant soil, that to gain this privilege, others were willing to receive it from the hands of the Spaniards, at the price of renouncing all political connexion with the United States. While these opposite modes of seeking a remedy for the same evil were pursuing by persons of different temperaments, a remonstrance from the inhabitants of Kentucky was presented to Washington and congress. This demanded the use of the Mississippi as a natural right, and at the same time charged the government with being under the influence of a local policy, which had prevented all serious efforts for the acquisition of a right, essential to the prosperity of the western population. It spoke the language of an injured people, irritated by the maladministration of their public servants, and hinted the probability of a dismemberment of the union, if their natural rights were not vindicated by government. To

appease these discontents, to restrain the French from making war on the Spaniards with a force raised and embodied in the United States, and at the same time, by fair negotiation, to obtain the free use of the Mississippi from the court of Madrid, was the task assigned to Washington. Difficult and delicate as it was, the whole was accomplished. Anterior to the receipt of the remonstrance, the president, well knowing the discontents of the interior people, and that the publication of them would obstruct his views, had directed the secretary of state to give assurances to the governor of Kentucky that every exertion was making to obtain the free navigation so much desired. The strong arm of government was successfully exerted to frustrate the expedition projected by the French minister against New Orleans. While these matters were pending, major Thomas Pinckney was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Madrid; and in the year 1795 he concluded a treaty with his catholic majesty, in which the claims of the United States on the subject of boundary and the navigation of the Mississippi were fully conceded. By these events, the discontents of the western people were done away; tranquillity was restored between the Atlantic and western states; and all points in controversy

between the United States and Spain were satisfactorily adjusted. The most material of these, the free navigation of the Mississippi, had been the subject of discussion, in the hands of different negotiators, for almost the whole of the last fifteen years.

Great were the difficulties Washington had to encounter in amicably settling all matters with Spain; but much greater stood in the way of a peaceable adjustment of various grounds of controversy between the United States and Great Britain.

Each of these two nations charged the other with a breach of the treaty of peace in 1783, and each supported the charge against the other with more solid arguments than either alleged in their own defence.

The peace terminated the calamities of the war, but was far from terminating the resentments which had been excited by it. Many in the United States believed that Great Britain was their natural enemy, and that her views of subjecting the United States to her empire were only for the present suspended. Soon after the peace, Mr. John Adams had been deputed by the old congress to negotiate a treaty between the United States and Great Britain; but the latter declined to meet this advance of the former. While he urged on the court

of

of Great Britain the obligations they were under by the late treaty to evacuate their posts on the south side of the lakes of Canada, they retorted, that some of the states had in violation of the same treaty passed laws interposing legal impediments to the recovery of debts due to British subjects. Washington's love of justice was not weakened by partiality to his country. In a letter to a member of congress he observed, "It was impolitic and unfortunate, if not unjust, in those states to pass laws which by fair construction might be considered as infractions of the treaty of peace. It is fair policy at all times to place one's adversary in the wrong. Had we observed good faith, and the western posts had been withheld from us by Great Britain, we might have appealed to God and man for justice.

"What a misfortune it is, that the British should have so well-grounded a pretext for their palpable infractions; and what a disgraceful part, out of the choice of difficulties before us, are we to act."

In the first year of Washington's presidency he took informal measures to sound the British cabinet, and to ascertain its views respecting the United States: to Mr. Gouverneur Morris, who had been carried by private business to Europe, this negotiation was entrusted. He conducted

ducted it with ability, but found no disposition in the court of Great Britain to accede to the wishes of the United States. In about two years more, when the stability and energy of the government, as administered by Washington, became a matter of public notoriety, the British, of their own accord, sent Mr. Hammond as their first minister to the United States. This advance induced the president to nominate Mr. Thomas Pinckney as minister plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain.

About this time war commenced between France and Great Britain. The correct, sound judgment of Washington instantly decided, that a perfect neutrality was the right, the duty, and the interest, of the United States; and of this he gave public notice by a proclamation in April 1793. Subsequent events have proved the wisdom of this measure, though it was then reprobated by many.

The war between the late enemies and friends of the United States revived revolutionary feelings in the breasts of the citizens, and enlisted the strongest passions of human nature against the one, and in favour of the other. A wish for the success of France was almost universal, and many were willing to hazard the peace of their country, by taking an active part in her favour. The

proclamation

proclamation was at variance with the feelings and the passions of a large portion of the citizens. To compel the observance of neutrality under these circumstances was no easy matter. Hitherto, Washington for the most part had the people with him, but in this case a large proportion was apparently on the other side. His resolution was nevertheless unshaken, and at the risk of popularity he persisted in promoting the real good of his fellow citizens, in opposition to their own mistaken wishes and views.

The tide of popular opinion was as strongly against Britain as in favour of France. The former was accused of instigating the Indians to acts of hostility against the United States; of impressing their sailors, of illegally capturing their ships, and of stirring up the Algerines against them. The whole of this hostility was referred to their jealousy of the growing importance of the United States. Motions were made in congress for sequestrating British debts, for entering into commercial hostility with Great Britain, and even for interdicting all intercourse with her, till she pursued other measures with respect to the United States. Every appearance portended immediate war between the two countries. The passionate admirers of France wished

wished for it; while others, more attached to British systems dreaded a war with Great Britain, as being likely to throw the United States into the arms of France. In this state of things, when war seemed inevitable, the president composed the troubled scene by nominating John Jay, in April 1794, envoy extraordinary to the court of London. By this measure a truce was obtained, and that finally ended in an adjustment of the points in controversy between the two countries. The exercise of the constitutional right of the president to negotiate, virtually suspended all hostile legislative measures, for these could not with delicacy or propriety be urged while the executive was in the act of treating for an amicable adjustment of differences.

A treaty between Great Britain and the United States was the result of this mission. This was pronounced by Mr. Jay "to be the best that was attainable, and which he believed it for the interest of the United States to accept." While the treaty was before the senate for consideration, a member, contrary to the rules of that body, furnished an editor of a newspaper with a copy of it. This being published, operated like a spark of fire applied to combustible materials. The

angry

angry passions, which had but recently been smothered, broke out afresh. Some went so far as to pronounce the treaty a surrender of their honour to their late enemy, Great Britain, and a dereliction of their tried friend and ally, France. The more moderate said that too much was given and too little received. Meetings of the people were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston, and several other places, in which the treaty was pronounced to be unworthy of acceptance; and petitions were agreed upon, and forwarded to the president, urging him to refuse his signature to the obnoxious instrument.

These agitations furnished matter for serious reflection to the president, but they did not effect his conduct, otherwise than by inducing his reiterated examination of the subject.— In a private letter to a friend, after reciting the importance of the crisis, he added, "There is but one straight course, and that is, to seek truth, and to pursue it steadily." It is probable that he had early made up his mind to ratify the treaty, as better than none, and infinitely better than war; but regretted that it was so generally disliked, and considered by many as made with a design to oppress the French republic. Under the

weight

weight of his high responsibility he consoled himself, " that in time, when passion shall have yielded to reason, the current may possibly turn." Peace with all the world was his policy, when it could be preserved with honour. War he considered an evil of such magnitude as never to be entered upon without the most imperious necessity. The mission of Mr. Jay was his last effort for the preservation of peace with Great Britain. The rejection of the treaty which resulted from this mission he considered as the harbinger of war; for, negotiation having failed to redress grievances, no alternative but war was left. By this prudent conduct, the rising states were preserved in peace, yet the bickerings of the citizens among themselves, and their animosities against Great Britain, still continued. The popularity of the president for the present was diminished, but on this he had counted. In a letter to general Knox, he observes, " Next to a conscientious discharge of my public duties, to carry along with me the approbation of my constituents, would be the highest gratification of which my mind is susceptible. But the latter being secondary, I cannot make the former yield to it, unless some criterion more infallible than partial (if they are not party) meetings

can

can be discovered as the touchstone of public sentiment. If any person on earth could, or the Great Power above would erect the standard of infallibility in political opinions, no being that inhabits this terrestrial globe would resort to it with more eargerness than myself, as long as I remain a servant of the public. But as I have hitherto found no better guide than upright intentions and close investigation, I shall adhere to them while I keep the watch."

After the treaty was duly ratified, an attempt was made to render it a dead letter, by refusing the appropriations of money necessary to carry it into effect. Preparatory to this, a motion was made for the adoption of a resolution, to request the president to lay before the house of representatives a copy of his instructions to Mr. Jay, together with the correspondence, and other documents relative to the treaty with Great Britain. This involved a new question, where the treaty-making power was constitutionally lodged? The debate was animated and vehement. Appeals were made both to reason and passion. After a discussion of more than twenty days, the motion was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of twenty-five votes. When the resolution was presented to the president,

president, he replied, " that he would take time to consider it."

His situation was peculiarly delicate. The passions of the people were strongly excited against the treaty. The popularity of the demand, being solely for information; the large majority by which the vote was carried; the suspicions that would probably attach in case of refusal, that circumstances had occurred in the course of the negotiation which the president was afraid to publish, added to other weighty considerations; would have induced minds of an ordinary texture to yield to the request. With Washington, popularity was only a secondary object; to follow the path of duty and the public good was a primary one. He had sworn to " preserve, protect, and defend the constitution." In his opinion the treaty-making power was exclusively given by the people in convention to the executive, and that the public good required it should be so exercised. Under the influence of these solemn obligations, he returned the following answer to the resolution which had been presented to him;

" Gentlemen of the houſe of repreſentatives,

" With the utmost attention I have considered your resolution of the 24th instant, requesting

requesting me to lay before your house a copy of the instructions to the minister of the United States, who negotiated the treaty with the king of Great Britain, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to that treaty, excepting such of the said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed.

" In deliberating upon this subject, it was impossible for me to lose sight of the principle which some have avowed in its discussion, or to avoid extending my views to the consequences which must flow from the admission of that principle.

" I trust that no part of my conduct has ever indicated a disposition to withhold any information which the constitution has enjoined it upon the president as a duty to give, or which could be required of him by either house of congress as a right; and with truth I affirm, that it has been, as it will continue to be while I have the honour to preside in the government, my constant endeavour to harmonize with the other branches thereof, so far as the trust delegated to me by the people of the United States, and my sense of the obligation it imposes ' to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution,' will permit.

" The nature of foreign negotiations requires

quires caution, and their success must often depend on secrecy; and even when brought to a conclusion, a full disclosure of all the measures, demands, or eventual concessions which may have been proposed or contemplated, would be extremely impolitic, for this might have a pernicious influence on future negotiations, or produce immediate inconveniencies, perhaps danger and mischief, to other persons. The necessity of such caution and secrecy was one cogent reason for vesting the power of making treaties in the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, the principle on which that body was formed confining it to a small number of members.

"To admit, then, a right in the house of representatives to demand, and to have as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.

"It does not occur, that the inspection of the papers asked for can be relative to any purpose under the cognizance of the house of representatives, except that of an impeachment, which the resolution has not expressed. I repeat, that I have no disposition to withhold any information which the duty of my station will permit, or the public good shall require to be disclosed; and in fact, all the

papers affecting the negotiation with Great Britain were laid before the senate, when the treaty itself was communicated, for their consideration and advice.

" The course which the debate has taken leads to some observations on the mode of making treaties under the constitution of the United States.

" Having been a member of the general convention, and knowing the principles on which the constitution was formed, I have ever entertained but one opinion upon this subject, and from the first establishment of the government to this moment my conduct has exemplified that opinion—That the power of making treaties is exclusively vested in the president, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur, and that every treaty so made and promulgated, thenceforward becomes the law of the land. It is thus that the treaty-making power has been understood by foreign nations; and in all the treaties made with them, we have declared, and they have believed, that when ratified by the president, with the advice and consent of the senate, they become obligatory. In this construction of the constitution, every house of representatives has heretofore acquiesced, and,

until the present time, not a doubt or suspicion has appeared, to my knowledge, that this construction was not the true one. Nay, they have more than acquiesced, for, until now, without controverting the obligation of such treaties, they have made all the requisite provisions for carrying them into effect.

"There is also reason to believe that this construction agrees with the opinions entertained by the state conventions when they were deliberating on the constitution, especially by those who objected to it; because there was not required in commercial treaties the consent of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate, instead of two-thirds of the senators present; and because, in treaties respecting territorial and certain other rights and claims, the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively was not made necessary.

"It is a fact, declared by the general convention, and universally understood, that the constitution of the United States was the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession. And it is well known that under this influence the smaller states were admitted to an equal representation in the senate with the larger states, and that this branch of the government

vernment was invested with great powers; for on the equal participation of those powers the sovereignty and political safety of the smaller states were deemed essentially to depend.

"If other proofs than these, and the plain letter of the constitution itself, be necessary to ascertain the point under consideration, they may be found in the journals of the general convention, which I have deposited in the office of the department of state. In these journals it will appear that a proposition was made, 'that no treaty should be binding on the United States, which was not ratified by a law,' and that the proposition was explicitly rejected.

"As therefore it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the house of representatives is not necessary to the validity of a treaty; as the treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the government that the boundaries, fixed by the constitution, between the different departments, should be preserved; a just regard to the constitution, and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this

case, forbid a compliance with your request."

Though the call for papers was unsuccessful, the favourers of the resolution for that purpose opposed the appropriations necessary to carry the treaty into effect. But from the firmness of the president the ground was altered. The treaty was ratified, and proclaimed to the public, as constitutionally obligatory. To refuse appropriations for carrying it into effect, would not only incur the high responsibility of breaking the public faith, but make a schism in the government between the executive and legislative departments. After long and vehement debates, in which argument and passion were both resorted to with a view of exposing the merits and demerits of the treaty, the resolution, for bringing in the laws necessary to carry it into effect, was carried by a majority of three. Though in this discussion Washington had no direct agency, yet the final result in favour of the treaty was the consequence of the measures he had previously adopted; for, having ratified the treaty, and published it to the world as the law of the land, and having, in his answer to the request of the house of representatives, proved that he had a constitutional right so to do,

the

the laws necessary for giving effect to the treaty could not be withheld, without hazarding the most serious consequences. The treaty which was thus carried into operation produced more good and less evil than was apprehended. It compromised ancient differences, produced amicable dispositions, and a friendly intercourse; it brought round an amicable surrender of the British posts, and compensation for American vessels illegally captured. Though it gave up some favourite principles, and some of its articles relative to commerce were deemed unequal, yet from Great Britain, as a great naval power, holding valuable colonies and foreign possessions, nothing better either with or without the treaty could have been obtained. After the lapse of ten years has cooled the minds both of the friends and enemies of the treaty, most men will acknowledge that the measures adopted by Washington, with respect to it, were founded in wisdom, proceeded from the purest patriotism, were carried through with uncommon firmness, and finally operated in greatly advancing the interests of his country.

Thorny and difficult as was the line of policy proper to be pursued by Washington with respect to Great Britain, it was much more so in regard to France. The revolution

in France, and the establishment of the constitution of the United States, were nearly cotemporary events. Till about the year 1793, perfect harmony subsisted between the two countries; but from the commencement of the war between France and England the greatest address was requisite to prevent the United States from being involved in hostilities, with one or the other, and sometimes with both. Goodwill to France and hatred to Britain, which had prevailed more or less from the peace of 1783, revived with great force on the breaking out of war between the two countries. These dispositions were greatly increased by the arrival of M. Genet the first minister plenipotentiary from the republic of France to the United States. He landed April 8th 1793, at Charleston South Carolina, the contiguity of which to the ocean, fitted it to be a convenient resort for privateers. By the governor of the state, William Moultrie, and the citizens, he was received with ardour approaching to enthusiasm. During his stay, which was for several days, he received very unequivocal proofs of the warmest attachment to his person, his country, and its cause. Encouraged by these evidences of the good wishes of the people for the success of the French revolution, he undertook to autho-

rize

rize the fitting and arming of vessels in that port, enlisting men, and giving commissions to vessels to cruise and commit hostilities on nations with whom the United States were at peace. The captures made by these citizens were to be tried, condemned, and sold under the authority of Genet, who had not yet been recognised as a public minister by the government. Similar marks of enthusiastic attachment were lavished on Genet, as he passed through the country between Charleston and Philadelphia. At Gray's ferry over the Schuylkill, he was met by crowds, who flocked to meet the first ambassador of a republican allied nation. On the day after his arrival in Philadelphia, he received addresses from societies, and the inhabitants, who expressed their gratitude for the aids furnished by the French nation to the United States in their late struggles for liberty and independence, and unbounded exultation at the success of the French arms. Genet's answers to these addresses were well calculated to preserve the idea of a complete fraternity between the two nations, and that their interests were the same.

After Genet had been thus accredited by the citizens of Philadelphia, he was presented to the president, and received with expressions of

of a sincere and cordial regard for his nation. In the conversations which took place on the occasion, he gave the most explicit assurances that France did not wish to engage the United States in the war between his country and Great Britain.

While M. Genet was receiving these flattering marks of attention from the people, the British minister preferred a long catalogue of complaints against his proceedings at Charleston. This was founded on the acts already mentioned, which were calculated to make the United States instruments of hostility in the hands of the French, against those with whom she was at war. These were farther aggravated by actual hostilities within the territories of the United States. The ship Grange, a British vessel, was captured by the French frigate l'Ambuscade within the capes of the Delaware, while on her way from Philadelphia to the ocean. Of this ship and of other illegal prizes which were within the power of the American government, restitution was demanded.

The cabinet council of Washington was unanimous, that every independent nation was exclusively sovereign in its own territories, and that the proceedings complained of were unwarranted usurpations of sovereignty, and

and violations of neutrality, and therefore must in future be prevented. It was farther resolved, that the efficacy of the laws should be tried against those citizens of the United States who had joined in the offences complained of. The restitution of the Grange was also agreed to. But on the propriety of enforcing the restitution of prizes made on the high seas, there was a diversity of sentiment; the secretaries of the treasury and of war being for it, and the secretary of state and the attorney general against it. The principles on which a concurrence of sentiment had taken place, being considered as settled, the secretary of state was desired to communicate them to the ministers of France and of Britain; and circular letters were written to the several state governors, requiring their co-operating, with force if necessary, to execute the rules which had been so agreed upon.

M. Genet was highly dissatisfied with these determinations, and considered them as subversive of the treaty between the United States and France. His representations induced a reconsideration of the subject; but on the most dispassionate review of it in all its bearings, no reason appeared for altering any part of the system. The minister of France was further informed, that in the opinion

nion of the president, the vessels which had been illegally equipped, should depart from the ports of the United States.

M. Genet, adhering to his own construction of the treaty between France and the United States, would not acquiesce in these decisions of the government. Intoxicated with the flattering attentions he had received, and ignorant of the firmness of the executive, he seems to have expected that the popularity of his nation and its cause, would enable him to undermine the executive, or render it subservient to his views.

About this time two citizens of the United States, who had been engaged in Charleston by M. Genet to cruise in the service of France, were arrested by the civil authority, in pursuance of the determination formed by government to prosecute persons who had offended against the laws. M. Genet demanded their release, as French citizens, in the most extraordinary terms. This was refused; but on trial, they were acquitted by the verdict of a jury.

The minister of the French republic was encouraged to this line of opposition by a belief that the sentiments of the people were in direct opposition to the measures adopted by the executive. So extravagant was their enthusiastic

enthusiastic devotedness to France, so acrimonious were their expressions against all the powers at war with the new republic, that a person less sanguine than M. Genet might have cherished the hope of being able to succeed so far with the people, as with their support to triumph over the opposition he experienced. At civic festivals, the ensigns of France were displayed in union with those of America; the cap of liberty passed from head to head, and toasts were given expressive of the fraternity of the two nations. The proclamation of neutrality was treated as a royal edict, which demonstrated the disposition of the government to break its connexions with France, and dissolve the friendship which united the people of the two republics. The scenes of the revolutionary war were brought into view. The effects of British hostilities against the United States, and of French aids, both in men and money, in their favour, were painted in glowing colours. The enmity of Britain to the United States was represented as continuing undiminished, and in proof of it, their detention of the western posts, and their exciting from these stations the neighbouring Indians to make war on the frontier settlers, were urged with great vehemence,

and

and contrasted with the amicable dispositions professed by the French republic. It was indignantly asked, "Should a friend and an enemy be treated with equal favour?" By declamations of this kind daily issuing from the press, the public mind was so inflamed against the executive, that Genet, calculating on the partialities of the people, openly insulted the government, and, adhering to his own construction of the treaty, that he had a right to do as he had done, threatened to appeal to the sovereign people against their president.

To preserve neutrality in such a crisis was no easy matter. Washington, adhering to the principles avowed in his late proclamation, and embodied in the declaration of independence, "that the United States would hold all mankind enemies in war and friends in peace," exerted all his authority and influence to keep the balance even between the belligerents*.

It was at length resolved by Washington

* If Washington and Horace had been cotemporaries, the world would have supposed that the latter had the former in his eye, when he penned his famous Ode.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non Civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.

to

to instruct Mr. Morris, the minister of the United States at Paris, to request the recal of M. Genet; and that he should be furnished with all the necessary documents, to evince the propriety of the request. What was asked, was granted; and M. Genet's conduct was disapproved of by his government. M. Fauchet was appointed his successor; who was succeeded by M. Adet. The latter brought with him the colours of France, which he was directed to present to the United States. To answer the animated speech of M. Adet, on his presenting the colours, required no small address. The occasion demanded something affectionate and complimentary to the French nation; and yet the guarded policy of Washington forbade the uttering of any sentiments, which might be deemed improper in the chief magistrate of a neutral country, when addressing the representative of one of the belligerent powers. Impressed with the importance of the subject, the president made the following reply:

"Born, Sir, in a land of liberty, having early learned its value, having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it, and having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own

own country—my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly attracted, whensoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom. But, above all, the events of the French revolution have produced the deepest solicitude, as well as the highest admiration. To call your nation brave, were to pronounce but common praise. Wonderful people! ages to come will read with astonishment the history of your brilliant exploits. I rejoice, that the period of your toils, and of your immense sacrifices, is approaching. I rejoice, that the interesting revolutionary movements of so many years have issued in the formation of a constitution designed to give permanency to the great object for which you have contended. I rejoice, that liberty, which you have so long embraced with enthusiasm, liberty, of which you have been the invincible defenders, now finds an asylum in the bosom of a regularly organised government—a government, which, being formed to secure the happiness of the French people, corresponds with the ardent wishes of my heart, while it gratifies the pride of every citizen of the United States by its resemblance to their own. On these glorious

glorious events, accept, Sir, my sincere congratulations.

"In delivering to you these sentiments, I express not my own feelings only, but those of my fellow citizens, in relation to the commencement, the progress, and the issue of the French revolution; and they will certainly join with me in purest wishes to the Supreme Being, that the citizens of our sister republic, our magnanimous allies, may soon enjoy in peace, that liberty which they have purchased at so great a price, and all the happiness that liberty can bestow.

"I receive, Sir, with lively sensibility, the symbol of the triumphs, and of the enfranchisements of your nation, the colours of France which you have now presented to the United States. The transaction will be announced to congress, and the colours will be deposited with the archives of the United States, which are at once the evidence and the memorials of their freedom and independence. May these be perpetual! and may the friendship of the two republics be commensurate with their existence."

The successors of Genet continued to walk in his steps, but with less violence. They made frequent complaints of particular cases of hardship, which grew out of the war, and

out of the rules which had been established by the executive, with regard to ships of war, cruisers and their prizes. They complained particularly, that in the treaty with Great Britain, the principle of "free ships making free goods," was given up; and urged the injustice, while French cruisers were restrained by treaty from taking English goods out of American bottoms, that English cruisers should be liberated from the same restraint. In vain did the executive shew a willingness to release France from the pressure of a situation in which she had voluntarily placed herself. Private explanations were made, that neither the late treaty with Britain, nor the arrangements growing out of it, furnished any real cause of complaint to France. With the same conciliatory view, Washington appointed general Pinckney minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, "to maintain that good understanding which from the commencement of the alliance had subsisted between the two nations, and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." The directory having inspected his letter of credence, announced their haughty determination, "not to receive another minister

ister from the United States, until after a edress of grievances demanded of the Ame-can government, which the French republic ad a right to expect from it." This was llowed by a written mandate to general 'inckney, to quit the territories of the repub-c. To complete the system of hostility, merican vessels wherever found were cap-ired by French cruisers.

From the mission of general Pinckney, Vashington expected an adjustment of all oints in dispute between France and the Inited States. In his opinion, the failure of : was owing to a belief, that the American eople were in unison with France, and in pposition to their own government; and hat high-toned measures on the part of France ould induce a change of rulers in the United tates. Before the result of the mission was nown, he had, by his own voluntary act, eased to be president. Having made peace ith the Indians, and adjusted all matters in ispute with both Spain and Britain, and oping that an accommodation would soon ake place with France, after eight years ervice in the high office of President, in the 6th year of his age, he announced his inten-ion of declining a re-election in full time for he people to make up their mind in the

Mr. Washington declines being again nominated for the Presidency.

 choice

choice of his successor. This was done, in an address to the people of the United States, in the following words:

His address on that occasion.

"*To the People of the United States:*

"Friends and Fellow Citizens.

"The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

"I beg of you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am

am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

"The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

"I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

"The impressions with which I first under-

took the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions contributed, towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years, admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

"In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honours it has conferred upon me, still more for the stedfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting

my

my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence, that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual, that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained, that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states under the auspices of liberty may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory

of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

"Here perhaps I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

"Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real prosperity, of that very liberty

liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth, as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union, to your collective and individual happiness, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

" For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The

The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles; you have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

"The north, in an unrestrained intercourse with the south, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The south, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the north, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the north, it finds its

particular

particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The east, in a like intercourse with the west, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The west derives from the east supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble communion of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the west can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

"While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts,

efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighbouring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive language to every virtuous and reflecting mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere spe-

culation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full trial. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavour to weaken its bands.

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by geographical discriminations—northern and southern—Atlantic and western—whence designing men may endeavour to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together

together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof, how unfounded were the suspicions propagated amongst them, of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

"To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict between the parts, can be an adequate substitute;

tute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescense in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of all political systems is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every

every individual to obey the established government.

"All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

"However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves

themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

" Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigour as is consistent with the perfect security of

iberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

" I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

" This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists, under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

" The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the

the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism; but this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually, incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

"Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain that party spirit, which is likely to lead to such an extremity: for it serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself, through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

"There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party; but in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being consant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not easily quenched, demands an uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume us.

"It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a

real

real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing that power into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let the error be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates; but let there be no change by usurpation, for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance, in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

" Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain

would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

"It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffu-

sion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

"As a very important source of strength and public security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving the national credit, is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it;—avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue, that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant, that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of

difficultics) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

" Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example, of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

" In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and

and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it away from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

"So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another, produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common

mon interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justification. It leads also to concessions, to the favourite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favourite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

" As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to

mislead

mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious, whilst its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be

be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny

destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far I mean as we are now at liberty to do it, for, let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

"Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences, consulting the natural course of things, diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but

but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

"In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish, that they will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations;

nations; but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good, that they may now and then recur, to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompence for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

"How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

"In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d April 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

"After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and

and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

"The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary to detail; I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

"The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

"The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

"Though

"Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope, that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

"Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate, with pleasing expectation, that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws, under a free government, the ever favourite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labours, and dangers."

This valedictory address of the father of

his country, was received in every part of the union with the most unbounded veneration, and recorded with the most pointed respect. Shortly after, the president for the last time met the national legislature in the senate-chamber. His address on the occasion was highly dignified. He congratulated congress on the internal situation of the United States, on the progress which had been made for preserving peace with the Indians, and meliorating their condition; and, after stating the measures which had been adopted in execution of the treaties with Great Britain, Spain, and Algiers, and the negotiations which were pending with Tunis and Tripoli, he observed—

"To an active external commerce, the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest in regard to wars in which a state is itself a party; but besides this, it is in our own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag, requires a naval force organized, and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war, by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may first or last leave no other option.

From

From the best information I have been able to obtain, it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean, without a protecting force, will always be insecure, and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

"These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy. The increasing progress of their navigation, promises them, at no distant period, the requisite supply of seamen, and their means in other respects favour the undertaking. It is an encouragement likewise, that their particular situation will give weight and influence to a moderate naval force in their hands. Will it not, then, be advisable to begin without delay to provide and lay up the materials for the building and equipping of ships of war, and to proceed in the work by degrees, in proportion as our resources shall render it practicable, without inconvenience, so that a future war of Europe may not find our commerce in the same unprotected state in which it was found by the present?" He then recommended "the establishment of national works for manufacturing implements of defence; of an institution for the improvement of agricul-

ture;" and pointed out "the advantages of a military academy; of a national university; and the necessity of augmenting the salaries of the officers of the United States." In respect to the disputes with France, he observed, "While in our external relations some serious inconveniences and embarrassments have been overcome, and others lessened, it is with much pain and deep regret I mention, that circumstances of a very unwelcome nature have lately occurred. Our trade has suffered, and is suffering, extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruisers and agents of the French republic; and communications have been received from its minister here, which indicate the danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority, and which are, in other respects, far from agreeable.

"It has been my constant, sincere, and earnest wish, in conformity with that of our nation, to maintain cordial harmony, and a perfect friendly understanding with that republic. This wish remains unabated, and I shall persevere in the endeavour to fulfil it to the utmost extent of what shall be consistent with a just and indispensable regard to the rights and honour of our country; nor will I easily cease to cherish the expectation that a

spirit

spirit of justice, candour, and friendship, on the part of the republic, will eventually ensure success.

"In pursuing this course, however, I cannot forget what is due to the character of our government and nation, or to a full and entire confidence in the good sense, patriotism, self-respect, and fortitude of my countrymen."

This address was concluded in these pathetic terms:—"The situation in which I now stand for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recals the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

CHAP. XIII.

Washington rejoices at the prospect of retiring.—Writes to the secretary of state, denying the authenticity of letters said to be from him to J. P. Custis and Lund Washington in 1776.—Pays respect to his successor, Mr. John Adams.—Review of Washington's administration.—He retires to mount Vernon.—Resumes agricultural pursuits.—Hears with regret the aggressions of the French republic.—Corresponds on the subject of his taking the command of an army to oppose the French.—Is appointed lieutenant-general.—His commission is sent to him by the secretary at war.—Directs the organisation of the proposed army.—Three envoys extraordinary sent to France; who adjust all disputes with Buonaparte, after the overthrow of the directory.—General Washington dies.—Is honoured by congress and by the citizens.—His character.

THE pleasing emotions which are excited in ordinary men, on their acquisition of power, were inferior to those which Washington felt on the resignation of it. To his tried friend, general Knox, on the day preceding the termination of his office, he observed, in a letter, "To the weary traveller, who sees a resting place and is bending his body to lean thereon, I now compare myself. Although the prospect of retirement is most grateful to my soul, and I have not a wish to mix again in

in the great world, or to partake in its politics, yet I am not without my regrets at parting with (perhaps never more to meet) the few intimates whom I love. Among these, be assured, you are one."

The bitter invectives and malignant calumnies of which Washington was the object, drew from him no public animadversion, except in one case, which was on the last day of his presidency. A volume of letters, said to be from general Washington to John Parke Custis, and Lund Washington, was published by the British in the year 1776, and was given to the public as being found in a small portmanteau, left in the care of the general's servant, who, it was said by the editor, had been taken prisoner in fort Lee. These letters were intended to produce in the public mind impressions unfavourable to the integrity of Washington, and to represent his inclination as at variance with his profession and duty. When the first edition of these spurious letters was forgotten, they were republished, during the civil administration of Washington, by some of his fellow-citizens who differed from him in politics. On the morning of the last day of his presidency, he addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which, after enumerating all the facts and

dates connected with the forgery, and declaring that he had hitherto deemed it unnecessary to take any formal notice of the imposition; he concluded as follows: "But as I cannot know how soon a more serious event may succeed to that which will this day take place, I have thought it a duty that I owed to myself, to my country, and to truth, now to detail the circumstances above recited, and to add my solemn declaration, that the letters herein described are a base forgery, and that I never saw or heard of them till they appeared in print. The present letter I commit to your care, and desire it may be deposited in the office of the department of state, as a testimony of the truth to the present generation and to posterity."

The moment now approached which was to terminate the official character of Washington, and in which that of his successor, John Adams, was to commence. The old and new president walked in together to the house of representatives, where the oath of office was administered to the latter. On this occasion Mr. Adams concluded an impressive speech with a handsome compliment to his predecessor, by observing, that though he was about to retire, "his name may still be a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives, a bulwark

bulwark against all open or secret enemies of his country."

The immense concourse of citizens who were present, gazed on the retiring Washington with love and affection, while cheerfulness overspread his countenance, and joy filled his heart, on seeing another invested with the high authorities he had so long exercised, and the way opened for his returning to the long-wished-for happiness of domestic private life. After paying the most respectful compliments to the new president, Washington set out for mount Vernon, the scene of enjoyment which he preferred to all others. His wish to travel privately was in vain, for wherever he passed, the gentlemen of the country took every occasion of testifying their respect for him. In his retirement, he continued to receive the most flattering addresses from legislative bodies and various classes of his fellow citizens.

During the eight years administration of Washington, the United States rose in reputation, wealth, and credit. The debts contracted in the revolutionary war, which, from the imbecility of the old government, had greatly depreciated, were funded, and such ample revenues provided for the payment of the interest, and the gradual extinc-

tion

tion of the principal, that their real and nominal value were in a little time nearly the same. The government was so firmly established, as to be cheerfully and universally obeyed. The only exception which took place, was an insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania, in opposition to the excise on distilled ardent spirits; which was quelled without bloodshed. Agriculture and commerce were extended far beyond former experience. The Indians on the frontiers had been first compelled by force to respect the United States, and continue in peace, and afterwards a humane system was commenced for teaching them to exchange the tomahawk and hatchet for the plough, the hoe, the shuttle, and the spinning-wheel. The free navigation of the Mississippi had been acquired with the consent of Spain, and all differences composed with that power. The military posts, which had been long held by Britain within the United States, were given up. The Mediterranean was opened to American vessels, in consequence of treaties made with the Barbary powers. Indeed, differences with all powers, either contiguous to, or connected with, the United States, had been amicably adjusted, with the exception of France. To obtain this very desirable object,

Washington made repeated advances, but he could not proceed without surrendering the independence of the nation and its right of self-government.

Washington, on returning to mount Vernon, resumed agricultural pursuits. These, with the society of men and books, gave to every hour innocent and interesting employment, and promised a serene evening of his life. Though he wished to withdraw himself not only from public office, but from all anxiety respecting public affairs, yet he felt too much for his country to be indifferent to its interests. He heard with regret the insults offered to the United States in the persons of their ministers, and the injury done to their commerce by illegal captures of their vessels. These indignities and injuries, after a long endurance, and a rejection of all advances for an accommodation, caused the government to adopt vigorous measures. To be in readiness to repel a threatened invasion, congress authorised the formation of a regular army. As soon as the adoption of this measure was probable, the eyes of all were once more turned on Washington, as the most suitable person to be put at its head. Letters from his friends poured in upon him, urging that he should accept

accept the command. To one from president Adams, in which it was observed "We must have your name, if you will in any case permit us to use it; there will be more efficacy in it than in many an army;" Washington replied as follows: "At the epoch of my retirement, an invasion of these states by any European powers, or even the probability of such an event in my days, was so far from being contemplated by me, that I had no conception either that or any other occurrence would arise, in so short a period, which could turn my eyes from the shades of mount Vernon. But this seems to be the age of wonders. And it is reserved for intoxicated and lawless France (for purposes of Providence far beyond the reach of human ken) to slaughter her own citizens, and to disturb the repose of all the world besides. From a view of the past, from the prospect of the present, and of that which seems to be expected, it is not easy for me to decide satisfactorily on the part it might best become me to act.

"In case of actual invasion by a formidable force, I certainly should not intrench myself under the cover of age and retirement, if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling it. And if there be good cause

cause to expect such an event, which certainly must be better known to the government than to private citizens, delay in preparing for it may be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty however of the latter, in my mind, creates my embarrassment, for I cannot bring it to believe, regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and injustice, that they will attempt to invade this country, after such an uniform and unequivocal expression of the determination of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes. That they have been led to believe, by their agents and partisans among us that we are a divided people, that the latter are opposed to their own government, and that the show of a small force would occasion a revolt, I have no doubt; and how far these men (grown desperate) will further attempt to deceive, and may succeed in keeping up the deception, is problematical. Without that, the folly of the directory in such an attempt, would, I conceive, be more conspicuous, if possible, than their wickedness.

"Having with candor made this disclosure of the state of my mind, it remains only for

me

me to add, that to those who know me best it is best known, should inperious circumstances induce me to exchange once more the smooth paths of retirement for the thorny ways of public life, at a period too when repose is more congenial to nature, it would be productive of sensations which can be more easily conceived than expressed."—To the secretary of war, writing on the same subject, Washington replied, "It cannot be necessary for me to premise to you, or to others who know my sentiments, that to quit the tranquillity of retirement, and enter the boundless field of responsibility, would be productive of sensations which a better pen than I possess would find it difficult to describe. Nevertheless, the principle by which my conduct has been actuated through life would not suffer me, in any great emergency, to withhold any services I could render, when required by my country, especially in a case where its dearest rights are assailed by lawless ambition and intoxicated power, in contempt of every principle of justice, and in violation of solemn compact, and of laws which govern all civilized nations; and this too with the obvious intent to sow thick the seeds of disunion, for the purpose

of

of subjugating our government and destroying our independence and happiness.

"In circumstances like these, accompanied by an actual invasion of our territory, it would be difficult for me at any time to remain an idle spectator, under the plea of age or retirement. With sorrow, it is true, I should quit the shades of my peaceful abode, and the ease and happiness I now enjoy, to encounter anew the turmoils of war, to which possibly my strength and powers might be found incompetent. These however should not be stumbling-blocks in my way."

President Adams nominated Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-general, to the chief command of all the armies raised or to be raised in the United States. His commission was sent to him by Mr. M'Henry, the secretary at war, who was directed to repair to mount Vernon, and to confer on the arrangements of the new army with its commander-in-chief. To the letter which president Adams sent with this commission, Washington in two days replied as follows: "I had the honour, on the evening of the 11th, to receive from the hands of the secretary at war, your favour of the 7th, announcing that you had, with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed me lieutenant-general

and commander-in-chief of the army raised or to be raised for the service of the United States.

"I cannot express how greatly affected I am at this new proof of public confidence, and at the highly flattering manner in which you have been pleased to make the communication. At the same time I must not conceal from you my earnest wish, that the choice had fallen upon a man less declined in years, and better qualified to encounter the usual vicissitudes of war.

"You know, Sir, what calculations I had made relative to the probable course of events upon my retiring from office, and the determination with which I had consoled myself of closing the remnant of my days in my present peaceful abode. You will therefore be at no loss to conceive and appreciate the sensations I must have experienced, to bring my mind to any conclusion that would pledge me at so late a period of life to leave scenes I sincerely love, to enter upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble, and high responsibility.

"It was not possible for me to remain ignorant of, or indifferent to, recent transactions. The conduct of the directory of France towards our country, their insidious hostility.

to its government, their various practices to withdraw the affections of the people from it, the evident tendency of their arts and those of their agents to countenance and invigorate opposition, their disregard of solemn treaties and the laws of nations, their war upon our defenceless commerce, their treatment of our ministers of peace, and their demands amounting to tribute, could not fail to excite in me sentiments corresponding with those my countrymen have so generally expressed in their affectionate addresses to you.

" Believe me, Sir, no man can more cordially approve the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence, and will, no doubt, combined with the state of things, call from congress such laws and means as will enable you to meet the full force and extent of the crisis.

" Satisfied, therefore, that you have sincerely wished and endeavoured to avert war, and exhausted to the last drop the cup of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause, and may confidently trust the final result to that kind Providence who has heretofore and so often signally favoured the people of the United States.

 " Thinking

"Thinking in this manner, and feeling how incumbent it is upon every person of every description to contribute at all times to his country's welfare, and especially in a moment like the present, when every thing we hold dear and sacred is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to accept the commission of commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States; with the reserve only, that I shall not be called into the field until the army is in a situation to require my presence, or it becomes indispensable by the urgency of the circumstances.

"In making this reservation, I beg it to be understood, that I do not mean to withhold any assistance to arrange and organize the army, which you may think I can afford. I take the liberty also to mention, that I must decline having my acceptance considered as drawing after it any immediate charge upon the public, or that I can receive any emoluments annexed to the appointment before I am in a situation to incur expense."

The hours of Washington, after the receipt of this appointment, were divided between agricultural pursuits and the cares and attentions inseparable from his new office. The organization of the army was in a great measure left to him. Much, therefore, of his

his time was engaged in making a proper selection of officers, and arranging the whole army in the best possible manner to meet the invaders at the water's edge; for he contemplated a system of continued attack, and frequently observed, "That the enemy must never be permitted to gain foothold on the shores of the United States."

Yet he always thought an actual invasion of the United States very improbable. He believed that the hostile measures of France took their rise from an expectation that these measures would produce a revolution of power in them, favourable to the views of the French republic, and that when the spirit of the Americans was roused, the French would give up the contest. Events soon proved these opinions to be well founded; for, no sooner had the United States armed, than they were treated with respect, and an indirect communication was made, that France would accommodate all matters in dispute on reasonable terms. Mr. Adams embraced these overtures, and made a new appointment of three envoys extraordinary to the French republic. These, on repairing to France, found the directory overthrown, and the government in the hands of Buonaparte, who had taken no

share in the disputes which had brought the two republics to the verge of war. With him, negotiations were commenced, and soon terminated in a pacific settlement of all differences. The joy to which this event gave birth, was great; but in it general Washington did not partake; for, before accounts arrived of this amicable adjustment, he ceased to be numbered with the living!

Death of Washington, 1799.

While out of doors, on the 13th December 1799, attending to some improvements on his estate, his neck and hair, from a slight rain, became wet. In the following night he was seized with an inflammatory affection of the wind-pipe, attended with some pain and difficult deglutition, which was soon succeeded by fever and a laborious respiration.

He was bled in the night, but would not permit his family physician to be sent for before day. About eleven o'clock Dr. Craik arrived, and, rightly judging that the case was serious, recommended that two consulting physicians should be sent for. The united powers of all three were in vain; respiration became more contracted and imperfect. Between eleven and twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and in about thirty-five hours from the time he was in his usual health, he expired

pired without a struggle, and in the perfect use of his reason.

In every stage of his disorder he believed that he should die, and was so much under this impression, that he submitted to the prescriptions of his physicians more from a sense of duty than expectation of relief. Having given them a trial, he expressed a wish that he might be permitted to die without farther interruption. After his power of deglutition was gone, he undressed himself and went to bed, to die there. To his friend and physician, Dr. Craik, he said, "I am dying, and have been dying for a long time; but I am not afraid to die." The equanimity which attended him through life did not forsake him in death. He submitted to the inevitable stroke with the dignity of a man, the calmness of a philosopher, and the resignation and confidence of a christian.

On the 18th of July, his body, attended by military honours and the offices of religion, was deposited in the family vault on his estate.

Intelligence of the death of Washington having reached congress, they instantly adjourned until the next day. When re-assembled, John Marshall, esquire, then a member of the house of representatives, and since chief

justice of the United States, and biographer of Washington, addressed the speaker in the following words:

"The melancholy event which was yesterday announced with doubt, has been rendered but too certain. Our Washington is no more! the hero—the patriot, and the sage of America!—the man on whom, in times of danger, every eye was turned, and all hopes were placed, lives now only in his own great actions and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people!

"If, Sir, it had even not been usual openly to testify respect for the memory of those whom heaven has selected as its instruments for dispensing good to man, yet such has been the uncommon worth, and such the extraordinary incidents which have marked the life of him whose loss we all deplore, that the whole American nation, impelled by the same feelings, would call with one voice for a public manifestation of that sorrow, which is so deep and so universal.

"More than any other individual, and as much as to one individual was possible, has he contributed to found this our wide spreading empire, and to give to the western world independence and freedom.

"Having effected the great object for which

which he was placed at the head of our armies, we have seen him convert the sword into the ploughshare, and sink the soldier into the citizen.

" When the debility of our federal system had become manifest, and the bonds which connected this vast continent were dissolving, we have seen him the chief of those patriots who formed for us a constitution, which, by preserving the union, will, I trust, substantiate and perpetuate those blessings which our revolution had promised to bestow.

" In obedience to the general voice of his country, calling him to preside over a great people, we have seen him once more quit the retirement he loved, and, in a season more stormy and tempestuous than war itself, with calm and wise determination pursue the true interests of the nation, and contribute more than any other could contribute to the establishment of that system of policy which will, I trust, yet preserve our peace, our honour, and our independence.

" Having been twice unanimously chosen the chief magistrate of a free people, we have seen him, at a time when his re-election with universal suffrage could not be doubted, afford to the world a rare instance of moderation, by withdrawing from his high station to the peaceful walks of private life.

"However the public confidence may change, and the public affections fluctuate, with respect to others, with respect to him they have, in war and in peace, in public and in private life, been as steady as his own firm mind, and as constant as his own exalted virtues.

"Let us then, Mr. Speaker, pay the last tribute of respect and affection to our departed friend. Let the grand council of the nation display those sentiments which the nation feels. For this purpose I hold in my hand some Resolutions which I take the liberty of offering to the house.

"Resolved, That this house will wait on the president, in condolence of this mournful event.

"Resolved, That the speaker's chair be shrouded with black, and that the members and officers of the house wear black during the session.

"Resolved, That a committee, in conjunction with one from the senate, be appointed to consider on the most suitable manner of paying honour to the memory of the MAN, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens."

The senate of the United States, on this event, addressed the president in these words:

"The senate of the United States respectfully take leave, Sir, to express to you their deep regret for the loss their country sustains in the death of general George Washington.

"This event, so distressing to all our fellow citizens, must be peculiarly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, Sir, to mingle our tears with your's. On this occasion it is manly to weep. To lose such a man at such a crisis is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to Him who maketh darkness his pavilion.

"With patriotic pride we review the life of our Washington, and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendour of victory. The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has travelled on to the end of his journey, and carried with him an increasing weight

weight of honour; he has deposited it safely where misfortune cannot tarnish it, where malice cannot blast it. Favoured of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity; magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

"Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example. His spirit is in heaven.

"Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage. Let them teach their children never to forget, that the fruits of his labours, and his example, are their inheritance."

To this address, president Adams returned the following answer:

"I receive, with the most respectful and affectionate sentiments, in this impressive address, the obliging expressions of your regret for the loss our country has sustained in the death of her most esteemed, beloved, and admired citizen.

"In the multitude of my thoughts and recollections on this melancholy event, you will permit me to say that I have seen him in the days of adversity, in some of the scenes of his deepest distress and most trying perplexities.

plexities. I have also attended him in his highest elevation and most prosperous felicity, with uniform admiration of his wisdom, moderation, and constancy.

"Among all our original associates in that memorable league of this continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he was the only one remaining in the general government. Although, with a constitution more enfeebled than his, at an age when he thought it necessary to prepare for retirement, I feel myself alone, bereaved of my last brother; yet I derive a strong consolation from the unanimous disposition which appears in all ages and classes to mingle their sorrows with mine on this common calamity to the world.

"The life of our Washington cannot suffer by a comparison with those of other countries who have been most celebrated and exalted by fame. The attributes and decorations of royalty could only have served to eclipse the majesty of those virtues which made him, from being a modest citizen, a more resplendent luminary. Misfortune, had he lived, could hereafter have sullied his glory only with those superficial minds who, believing that characters and actions are marked by success alone, rarely deserve to enjoy it.

it. Malice could never blast his honour, and envy made him a singular exception to her universal rule. For himself, he had lived long enough to life and to glory; for his fellow-citizens, if their prayers could have been answered, he would have been immortal; for me his departure is at a most unfortunate moment. Trusting, however, in the wise and righteous dominion of Providence over the passions of men, and the results of their councils and actions, as well as over their lives, nothing remains for me but humble resignation.

"His example is now complete, and it will teach wisdom and virtue to magistrates, citizens, and men, not only in the present age but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read. If a Trajan found a Pliny, a Marcus Aurelius can never want biographers, eulogists, or historians."

— — —

The committee of both houses, appointed to devise the mode by which the nation should express its grief, for so great a loss, reported the following resolutions:

"That a marble monument be erected, by the United States, at the city of Washington; and that the family of general Washington be requested to permit his body to be deposited under it, and that the monument be so designed

designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.

"That there be a funeral procession from Congress Hall to the German Lutheran church, in memory of general Washington, on Thursday the 26th instant; and that an oration be prepared at the request of congress, to be delivered before both houses on that day, and that the president of the senate, and speaker of the house of representatives, be desired to request one of the members of congress to prepare and deliver the same.

"That it be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on the left arm, as mourning, for thirty days.

"That the president of the United States be requested to direct a copy of these resolutions to be transmitted to Mrs. Washington, assuring her of the profound respect congress will ever bear to her person and character—of their condolence on the late affecting dispensation of Providence—and entreating her assent to the interment of general Washington in the manner expressed in the first resolution.

"That the president be requested to issue his proclamation, notifying to the people throughout the United States the recommendation contained in the third resolution."

— — — To

To the letter of the president, which transmitted to Mrs. Washington the resolution of congress, that she should be requested to permit the remains of general Washington to be deposited under a marble monument to be erected in the city of Washington, she replied very much in the style and manner of her departed husband, and in the following words: "Taught by the great example which I have so long had before me, never to oppose my private wishes to the public will, I must consent to the request made by congress, which you have had the goodness to transmit to me, and in doing this, I need not, I cannot say what a sacrifice of individual feeling I make to a sense of public duty."

The honours paid to Washington, at the seat of government, were but a small part of the whole. Throughout the United States the citizens generally expressed, in a variety of ways, both their grief and their gratitude. The people, from the impulse of their own minds, before they knew similar intentions of their fellow citizens, or the determination of congress, assembled together, and passed resolutions expressive of their high sense of the great worth of the deceased, and urging the propriety of a general mourning. Orations were delivered—sermons preached—and

elegies

elegies without number written on the occasion. The best talents of the nation were employed, both in prose and verse, in writing and speaking, to express the national grief, and to celebrate the deeds of the departed father of his country.

— — —

In addition to the public honours mentioned in the preceding pages to have been conferred on Washington in his lifetime, there were others of a private nature, that flowed from the hearts of the people, and which neither wealth nor power could command. An infinity of children were called by his name; this was often done by people in the humble walks of life, who had never seen nor expected to see him. Villages, towns, cities, districts, counties, seminaries of learning, and other public institutions, were called Washington, in such numbers, and in such a variety of places, that the name no longer answered the end of distinction, unless some local or appropriating circumstances were added to the common appellation. Adventurous mariners, who discovered islands or countries in unexplored regions, availing themselves of the privilege of discoveries, planted the name of the American chief in the remotest corners of the globe.

The

The person of George Washington was uncommonly tall. Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country, the wholesome toils of the chace, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual but graceful and well-proportioned size. His exterior suggested to every beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness. His form was noble and his port majestic. No man could approach him but with respect. His frame was robust, his constitution vigorous, and he was capable of enduring great fatigue. His passions were naturally strong; with them was his first contest, and over them his first victory. Before he undertook to command others, he had thoroughly learned to command himself. The powers of his mind were more solid than brilliant. Judgment was his forte. To vivacity, wit, and the sallies of a lively imagination, he made no pretensions. His faculties resembled those of Aristotle, Bacon, Locke, and Newton, but were very unlike those of Voltaire. Possessed of a large proportion of common sense, directed by a sound practical judgment, he was better fitted for the exalted stations to which he was called than many others, who, to a greater brilliancy of parts, frequently add the eccentricities of genius.

Truth

Truth and utility were his objects. He steadily pursued and generally attained them. With this view, he thought much, and closely examined, in all its relations, every subject on which he was to decide. Neither passion, party spirit, pride, prejudice, ambition, nor interest, influenced his deliberations. In making up his mind on great occasions, and many occurred which seemed to involve the fate of the army or the nation, he sought information from all quarters, revolved the subject by night and by day *, and examined it in every point of view imaginable. Guided by these lights, and influenced by an honest and good heart, he was imperceptibly led to wise and judicious decisions. Perhaps no man ever lived, who was so often called upon to form a judgment in cases of real difficulty, and who so often formed a right one. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most proper method of accomplishing proposed objects. Of a thou-

Washington's character—continued from preceding page.

* In a letter to general Knox, written after the termination of the revolutionary war, Washington observed, "Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not until lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I awoke in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day, and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, or had any thing to do with public transactions."

sand propositions he knew how to distinguish the best, and to select among a thousand the individual one most fitted for his purpose.

Washington's military character.

As a military man, he possessed personal courage, and a firmness, which neither danger nor difficulties could shake. His perseverance overcame every obstacle, his moderation conciliated all opposition, his genius supplied every resource, he knew how to conquer by delay, and deserved true praise by despising unmerited censure. Though inferior to his adversary in the numbers, in the equipment, and in the discipline of his troops, no great advantage was ever obtained over him; and no opportunity to strike an important blow was ever neglected. In the most ardent moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of his country.

The whole range of history does not present a character on which we can dwell with such entire unmixed admiration. His qualities were so happily blended, and so nicely harmonized, that the result was a great and perfect whole.

His integrity.

The integrity of Washington was incorruptible. His principles were free from the contamination of selfish and unworthy passions. His real and avowed motives were the same; his ends were always upright, and his

his means pure. He was a statesman without guile; and his professions, both to his fellow citizens and to foreign nations, were uniformly sincere. No circumstances ever induced him to use duplicity. A conspicuous example of the distinction which exists between wisdom and cunning, his manly, open conduct was an illustration of the soundness of the maxim, that "honesty is the best policy."

Learning of Washington.

The learning of Washington was of a particular kind. By an extraordinary strength of intellect, he overstepped the tedious form of the schools, and, by the force of a correct taste and sound judgment, seized on the great ends of learning, without the assistance of those means, which have been found necessary to prepare less active minds for public business. A careful study of the English language, reading good models of fine writing, with the aid of a vigorous mind and retentive memory, made him master of a pure, elegant, and classical style. His composition is all nerve, full of correct and manly ideas, expressed in precise and forcible language. To the innumerable addresses which on all public occasions poured in upon him, his answers were promptly made, handsomely expressed, and always contained something appropriate. His letters to congress, his ad-

dresses to that body on the acceptance and on the resignation of his commission, his general orders as commander-in-chief, his speeches and messages as president, and his two farewel addresses to the people of the United States, will remain lasting monuments of the goodness of his heart, of the wisdom of his head, and of the eloquence of his pen.

Washington's mental and moral powers.

The powers of his mind were in some respects peculiar. He was a great practical self-taught genius, with a head to devise and a hand to execute projects of the first magnitude and greatest utility.

There are few men of any kind, and still fewer of those the world calls great, who have not some of their virtues eclipsed by corresponding vices; but this was not the case with general Washington. He had religion without austerity, dignity without pride, modesty without diffidence, courage without rashness, politeness without affectation, affability without familiarity. His private character, as well as his public one, will bear the strictest scrutiny. He was punctual in all his engagements, upright and honest in his dealings, temperate in his enjoyments, liberal and hospitable to an eminent degree, a lover of order, systematical and methodical in all his arrangements. The friend of morality and religion,

religion, he steadily attended on public worship; encouraged and strengthened the hands of the clergy; and in all his public acts made the most respectful mention of Providence. In a word, he carried from private life into his public administration, the spirit of piety, a dependence upon the Supreme Governor of the universe.

His management of the soldiery.

Washington had to form soldiers of freemen, many of whom had extravagant ideas of their personal rights. He had often to mediate between a starving army and a high-spirited yeomanry. So great were the necessities of the soldiery under his immediate command, that he was obliged to send out detachments to seize on the property of the farmers at the point of the bayonet. The language of the soldier was, "Give me clothing, give me food, or I cannot fight, I cannot live." The language of the farmer was, "Protect my property." In this choice of difficulties, general Washington not only kept his army together, but conducted it with so much prudence as to command the approbation both of the army and of the citizens. He was also dependent for much of his support on the concurrence of thirteen distinct unconnected legislatures. Animosities prevailed between his southern and northern troops,

and there were strong jealousies between the states from which they respectively came. To harmonize these clashing interests, to make uniform arrangements from such discordant sources and materials, required no common share of address. Yet so great was the effect of the modest, unassuming manners of general Washington, that he retained the affection of all his troops and of all the states.

His equanimity of temper.

Equanimity he possessed in an eminent degree. One even tenor marked the greatness of his mind in all the variety of scenes through which he passed. In the most trying situations he never despaired, nor was he ever depressed. He was the same when retreating through Jersey, from before a victorious enemy, with the remains of his broken army, as when marching in triumph into York town, over its demolished fortifications. The honours and applause he received from his grateful countrymen would have made almost any other man giddy, but on him they had no mischievous effect. He exacted none of those attentions, but, when forced upon him, received them, as favours, with the politeness of a well-bred man. If great in deserving them, how much greater in not being elated with them!

The

The patriotism of Washington was of the most ardent kind, and without alloy. Very different from those clamorous spirits, who, with love of country in their mouths and hell in their hearts, lay schemes for aggrandizing themselves at every hazard, he was one of those who love their country in sincerity, and who hold themselves bound to consecrate all their talents to its service. Numerous were the difficulties with which he had to contend—great were the dangers he had to encounter—various were the toils and services in which he had to share; but to all difficulties and dangers he rose superior—to all toils and services he cheerfully submitted for his country's good. Patriotism of Washington.

In principle, Washington was a federal republican and a republican federalist. Liberty and law, the rights of man, and the controul of government, were equally dear to him, and, in his opinion, equally necessary to political happiness. Devoted to that system of equal political rights on which the constitution of his country was founded, he thought that real liberty could only be maintained by preserving the authority of the laws and giving tone and energy to government. He conceived the difference as immense between a balanced republic and a tumultuous democracy, His political principles.

cracy, or a faction calling themselves the people; and saw a still greater disparity between a patriot and a demagogue. The deliberate sentiments of the people he highly respected; but their sudden ebullitions made no impression on his well-balanced mind. Trusting for support to the sober second thoughts of the nation, he had the magnanimity to pursue its real interests, in opposition to prevailing prejudices. He placed a proper value on popular favour, but could never stoop to gain it by a sacrifice of duty, by artifice or flattery. In critical times he committed his well-earned popularity to hazard, and steadily pursued the line of conduct which was dictated by a sense of duty against an opposing popular torrent.

His conduct in factious times.

While war raged in Europe, the hostile nations would scarce endure a neutral. America was in great danger of being drawn by force or intrigue into the vortex. Strong parties in the United States rendered the danger more imminent, and it required a temperate but inflexible government to prevent the evil. In this trying state of things, Washington was not to be moved from the true interests of his country. His object was America, and her interest was to remain in peace. Faction at home and intrigue and menace

menace from abroad endeavoured to shake him; but in vain; he remained firm and immovable in the surrounding storm. By his address and vigour, foreign intrigue was defeated, and foreign insolence was repressed; while domestic faction, dashing against him, broke itself to pieces. He met the injustice both of Britain and France by negotiation rather than by war, but maintained towards both that firm attitude which was proper for the first magistrate of a free state. He commanded their respect, and preserved the tranquillity of the country. In his public character he knew no nation but as friends in peace, as enemies in war. Towards one, he forgot ancient animosities, when the recollection of them opposed the interests of his country. Towards another, he renounced a fantastic gratitude, when it was claimed only to involve his nation in war.

His policy.

With Washington, it was an invariable maxim of policy, to secure his country against the injustice of foreign nations, by being in a condition to command their respect and punish their aggressions. The defence of commerce, the fortification of posts, and the organization of a military force, were objects to which he paid particular attention. To the gradual formation of an American army

army he was friendly, and also to military institutions, as calculated to qualify the youth of the country for its defence. War he deprecated as a great evil, inferior only to the loss of honour and character; but thought it most easily avoided, in being prepared for it; while, by the practice of universal justice, none could have any real ground of complaint. In foreign transactions, his usual policy was to cultivate peace with all the world, to observe treaties with pure and absolute faith, to check every deviation from the line of impartiality, to explain what was misapprehended, and to correct what was injurious, and then to insist upon justice being done to the nation over which he presided. In controversies with foreign nations, his favourite maxim was, so to conduct himself towards them "as to put them in the wrong."

His conduct to the Indian tribes.

In his transactions with the Indian tribes, Washington was guided by justice, humanity, and benevolence. His authority and influence were exerted to restrain the licentious white contiguous settlers from injuring their red neighbours. To supply their wants, and prevent impositions, he strongly urged the erection of trading-houses in their settlements, from which they were furnished by government with

with goods at first cost. The unprincipled were restrained from preying on the ignorant, by excluding all except licensed persons with good characters from trading with such useful neighbours. These wise measures were adopted to pave the way for a gradual civilization of the various tribes and families of Indians.

His promptitude and firmness.

When Washington commenced his civil administration, the United States were without an efficient government. After they had adopted one, and placed him at its head, he determined that it should be respected. By his firmness, order soon took place. One exception, however, must be stated: the western counties of Pennsylvania rose in arms, to resist the law for raising a revenue by an excise on domestic distilled ardent spirits. On this occasion the fixed resolution of Washington was, that whatever expense it might cost, whatever inconvenience it might occasion, the people must be taught obedience, and the authority of the laws re-established. To secure this object, peculiarly important in the infancy of a new government, he ordered out, and put himself at the head of an ample force, calculated to render resistance desperate, and thereby to save the lives of his fellow citizens. In consequence of such decided

Mr. Washington's Will.

cided measures, the insurgents dispersed, and peace and order were restored without bloodshed. The necessity of subordination was thus early impressed on the citizens, and the firmness of Washington's personal character further confirmed to the government.

Having accomplished every object for which he re-entered public life, Washington gave for the second time the rare example of voluntarily descending from the first station in the universe, the head of a free people, placed there by their unanimous suffrage. To the pride of reigning his soul was superior; to its labours he submitted only for his country.

— — —

Rulers of the world! Learn from WASHINGTON wherein true glory consists; restrain your ambition; consider your power as an obligation to do good. Let the world have peace, and prepare for yourselves the enjoyment of that ecstatic pleasure, which will result from devoting all your energies to the advancement of human happiness.

Citizens of the United States! While with grateful hearts you recollect the virtues of your WASHINGTON, carry your thoughts one step farther. On a review of his life, and of all the circumstances of the times in which he lived,

lived, you must be convinced that a kind Providence in its beneficence raised him, and endowed him with extraordinary virtues, to be to you an instrument of great good. None but such a man could have carried you successfully through the revolutionary times which tried men's souls, and ended in the establishment of your independence. None but such a man could have braced up your government, after it had become so contemptible from the imbecility of the federal system. None but such a man could have saved your country from being plunged into war, either with the greatest naval power in Europe, or with that which is most formidable by land, in consequence of your animosity against the one, and your partiality in favour of the other.

Youths of the United States! Learn from WASHINGTON what may be done by an industrious improvement of your talents, and the cultivation of your moral powers. Without any extraordinary advantages from birth, fortune, patronage, or even of education, he, by virtue and industry, attained the highest seat in the temple of fame. You cannot all be commanders of armies or chief magistrates, but you may all resemble him in the virtues of private and domestic life, in which he excelled,

excelled, and in which he most delighted. Equally industrious with his plough as his sword, he esteemed idleness and inutility as the greatest disgrace of man, whose powers attain perfection only by constant and vigorous action. Washington in private life was as amiable as virtuous, and as great as he appeared sublime on the public theatre of the world. Living in the discharge of all the civil, social, and domestic offices of life; temperate in his desires, and faithful to his duties; for more than forty years of happy wedded love, his high example strengthened the tone of public manners. In the bosom of his family, he had more real enjoyment than in the pride of military command, or in the pomp of sovereign power. On the whole, his life affords the brightest model for imitation, not only to warriors and statesmen, but to private citizens; for his character was a constellation of all the talents and virtues which dignify or adorn human nature.

"*He was a man, take him for all in all*
"*We shall not look upon his like again.*"

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

The WILL *of General Washington.*

In the name of God, Amen.

I George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a citizen of the United States, and lately president of the same, do make, ordain, and declare this instrument, which is written with my own hand, and every page thereof subscribed with my name, to be my last will and testament, revoking all others.

Discharge of Debts.

Item.—All my debts, of which there are but few, and none of magnitude, are to be punctually and speedily paid; and the legacies hereafter bequeathed, are to be discharged as soon as circumstances will permit, and in the manner directed.

Bequest to Mrs. Washington.

Item.—To my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated in Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs for ever, as also I do my household

Mr. Washington's Will.

hold and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

Emancipation of and provision for Slaves.

Item.—Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire, that all the slaves which I hold in my own right shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life would, though earnestly wished by me, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations, if not disagreeable consequences, from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And whereas, among those who will receive freedom according to this demise, there may be some who from old age or bodily infirmities, and others who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire, that all who come under the first and second description, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or, if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the court till they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years; and in cases where no record can be produced, whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgement of the court, upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and

Mr. Washington's Will.

final. The negroes thus bound are (by their masters or mistresses) to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphan and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation, out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatsoever. And I do moreover most solemnly and most pointedly enjoin it upon my executors hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof, be religiously fulfilled, at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested, particularly as it respects the aged and infirm; seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provision to be made by individuals.

Bequest towards the support of a free school in Alexandria.

Item.—To the trustees (governors, or by whatsoever name they may be designated) of the academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath (in trust) four thousand dollars, or, in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, towards the support of a free school, established at and annexed to the said academy, for the purpose of educating such orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means; and who, in

Mr. Washington's Will.

the judgement of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity: the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said trustees for the time being to the uses above mentioned: the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof should render the removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to the twenty thousand pounds given by a missive letter some years ago; in consequence whereof an annuity of fifty pounds has since been paid towards the support of this institution.

Bequest for the endowment of a University in Columbia.

Item.—Whereas by a law of the commonwealth of Virginia, enacted in the year 1785, the legislature thereof was pleased, as an evidence of its approbation of the services I had rendered the public during the revolution, and partly, I believe, in consideration of my having suggested the vast advantages which the community would derive from the extension of its inland navigation, under legislative patronage, to present me with one hundred shares, of one hundred dollars each, in the incorporated company established for the

Mr. Washington's Will.

purpose of extending the navigation of James River from Tidewater to the mountains; and also with fifty shares, of one hundred pounds sterling each, in the corporation of another company, likewise established for the similar purpose of opening the navigation of the river Potomac from Tidewater to Fort Cumberland; the acceptance of which, though the offer was highly honourable and grateful to my feelings, was refused, as inconsistent with a principle which I had adopted, and never departed from, namely, not to receive pecuniary compensation for any services I could render my country in its arduous struggle with Great Britain for its rights, and because I had evaded similar propositions from other states in the union;—adding to this refusal, however, an intimation, that, if it should be the pleasure of the legislature to permit me to appropriate the said shares to public uses, I would receive them on those terms with due sensibility; and this it having consented to in flattering terms, as will appear by a subsequent law and sundry resolutions, in the most ample and honourable manner; I proceed, after this recital, for the more correct understanding of the case, to declare, that it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed, or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but prin-

Mr. Washington's Will.

ciples unfriendly to republican government, and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons, it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale, which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising empire, thereby to do away local attachments and stale prejudices, as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought, to admit from our national councils. Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is (in my estimation), my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than to establish an university in a central part of the United States, to which the youths of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature, in arts and sciences, in acquiring knowledge in the principles of politics and good government, and, (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgement) by associating with each other, and forming friendship in juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned, and which, when carried to excess, are never-failing sources of disquietude to the public mind, and pregnant with mischievous consequences to this country: under these impressions, so fully dilated,

Item—I give and bequeath, in perpetuity, the fifty

fifty shares I hold in the Potomac company (under the aforesaid acts of the legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of an university, to be established within the limits of the district of Columbia, under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it; and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising in those shares shall be required for its support, my farther will and desire is, that the profit accruing therefrom shall, whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the bank of Columbia, or some other bank, at the discretion of my executors, or by the treasurer of the United States for the time being, under the direction of congress, provided that honourable body should patronise the measure; and the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such a stock are to be vested in more stock, and so on until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained; of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement be given by legislative authority, or from any other source.

Mr. Washington's Will.

Item.—The hundred shares which I hold in James River company, I have given, and now confirm in perpetuity, to and for the use of Liberty-Hall academy, in the county of Rockbridge, in the commonwealth of Virginia.

Bequest towards the support of Liberty Hall academy.

Item.—I release, exonerate, and discharge the estate of my deceased brother, Samuel Washington, from the payment of the money which is due

Devise of the Berkeley estate, &c.

Mr. Washington's Will.

to me for the land I sold to P. Pendleton (lying in the county of Berkeley), who assigned the same to him the said Samuel, and his son Thornton Washington; the latter became possessed of the aforesaid land without any conveyance having passed from me, either to the said Pendleton, the said Samuel, or the said Thornton, and without any consideration having been made, by which neglect, neither the legal nor equitable title has been alienated; it rests therefore with me to declare my intentions concerning the premises; and these are, to give and bequeath the said land to whomsoever the said Thornton Washington (who is also dead) devised the same, or to his heirs for ever, if he died intestate; exonerating the estate of the said Thornton, equally with that of the said Samuel, from payment of the purchase money, which, with interest, agreeably to the original contract with the said P. Pendleton, would amount to more than a thousand pounds. And whereas two other sons of my said deceased brother Samuel, viz. George Steptoe Washington, and Lawrence Augustine Washington, were, by the decease of those to whose care they were committed, brought under my protection, and, in consequence, have occasioned advances on my part for their education at college and other schools, for their board, clothing, and other incidental expenses, to the amount of near five thousand dollars, over and above the sums furnished by their estate, which sum it may be inconvenient for them or their father's estate to refund;

I do,

Mr. Washington's Will.

I do, for these reasons, acquit them and the said estate from the payment thereof, my intention being, that all accounts between them and me, and their father's estate and me, shall stand balanced.

Exonerates the estate of his brother-in-law from the payment of a sum of money; and declares the negroes thereon free at a certain age.

Item.—The balance due to me from the estate of Bartholomew Dandridge, deceased, (my wife's brother), and which amounted on the 1st day of October 1795, to 425*l.* (as will appear by an account rendered by his deceased son, John Dandridge, who was the acting executor of his father's will), I release and acquit from the payment thereof: and the negroes (then thirty-three in number) formerly belonging to the said estate, who were taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on my account, in the year [blank] and ever since have remained in the possession and to the use of Mary, widow of the said Bartholomew Dandridge, with their increase, it is my will and desire, shall continue to be in her possession, without paying hire or making compensation for the same for the time past or to come, during her natural life; at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them who are forty years old and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under that age, and above sixteen, shall serve seven years, and no longer; and all under sixteen years shall serve until they are twenty-five years of age, and then to be free; and, to avoid disputes respecting the ages of any of those negroes, they are to be taken into the court of the county in which they reside, and the judgement thereof

Mr. Washington's Will.

in this relation shall be final, and record thereof made, which may be adduced as evidence at any time thereafter, if disputes should arise concerning the same: and I farther direct, that the heirs of the said Bartholomew Dandridge shall equally share the benefits arising from the service of the said negroes, according to the tenor of this devise, upon the decease of their mother.

Item.—If Charles Carter, who intermarried with my niece Betty Lewis, is not sufficiently secured in the title to the lots he had of me in the town of Fredericksburg, it is my will and desire, that my executors shall make such conveyance of them as the law requires to render it perfect.

Bequest to William. Augustine Washington.

Item.—To my nephew, William Augustine Washington (if he should conceive them to be objects worth prosecuting), and to his heirs, a lot in the town of Manchester, opposite to Richmond, No. 265, drawn on my sole account; and also the tenth of one or two hundred acre lots, and two or three half acre lots, in the city and vicinity of Richmond, drawn in partnership with nine others, all in the lottery of the deceased William Byrd, are given; as is also a lot which I purchased of John Hood, conveyed by William Willie and Samuel Gordon, trustees of the said John Hood, numbered 139, in the town of Edinburgh, in the county of Prince George, state of Virginia.

His papers and books.

Item.—To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration

ministration of the affairs of this country; I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and, at the decease of my wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind. Mr. Washington's Will.

Item.—To the earl of Buchan I recommit "the box made of the oak that sheltered the great sir William Wallace, after the battle of Falkirk;" presented to me by his lordship in terms too flattering for me to repeat, with a request, "to pass it, on the event of my decease, to the man in my country who should appear to merit it best, upon the same conditions that have induced him to send it to me." Whether it be easy or not to select the man who might comport with his lordship's opinion in this respect, is not for me to say; but conceiving that no disposition of this valuable curiosity can be more eligible than the recommitment of it to his own cabinet, agreeably to the original design of the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh, who presented it to him, and at his request consented that it should be transferred to me; I do give and bequeath the same to his lordship; and, in case of his decease, to his heir, with my grateful thanks for the distinguished honour of presenting it to me, and more especially for the favourable sentiments with which he accompanied it. Recommits to the earl of Buchan a piece of antiquity.

Item.—To my brother, Charles Washington, I give and bequeath the gold-headed cane, left me by Dr. Franklin in his will. I add nothing to it, Bequeaths various tokens of remembrance.

Gen. Washington's Will.

it, because of the ample provision I have made for his issue. To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, Lawrence Washington and Robert Washington, of Chotanck, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them; and to each (as they will be useful where they live) I leave one of the spy glasses which constituted part of my equipage during the late war. To my compatriot in arms, and old intimate friend, Dr. Craik, I give my bureau; or, as the cabinet-makers call it, tambour secretary, and the circular chair, an appendage to my study. To Dr. D. Stuart, I give my large shaving and dressing-table, and my telescope. To the reverend, now Bryan lord Fairfax, I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes, presented to me by the right reverend Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man. To general de la Fayette, I give a pair of finely wrought steel pistols, taken from the enemy in the revolutionary war. To my sisters-in-law, Hannah Washington and Mildred Washington, to my friends Eleanor Stuart, Hannah Washington of Fairfield, and Elizabeth Washington of Hayfield, I give each a mourning ring, of the value of one hundred dollars. These bequests are not made for the intrinsic value of them, but as mementos of my esteem and regard. To Tobias Lear, I give the use of the farm which he now holds in virtue of a lease from me to him and his deceased wife (for and during their natural lives), free from rent during his life; at the expiration of which, it is

to

to be disposed of as is hereinafter directed. To Sally B. Haym, a distant relation of mine, I give and bequeath three hundred dollars. To Sarah Green, daughter of the deceased Thomas Bishop, and to Ann Walker, daughter of John Alton, also deceased, I give each one hundred dollars, in consideration of the attachment of their fathers to me, each of whom having lived nearly forty years in my family. To each of my nephews, William Augustine Washington, George Lewis, George Steptoe Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Samuel Washington, I give one of the swords or coutteaux of which I may die possessed; and they are to choose in the order they are named. These swords are accompanied with an injunction, not to unsheath them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and, in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.

Mr. Washington's Will.

And now, having gone through these specific devises with explanations, for the more correct understanding of the meaning and design of them, I proceed to the distribution of the more important part of my estate in manner following:

1st. To my nephew Bushrod Washington, and his heirs (partly in consideration of an intimation to his deceased father while we were bachelors, and he had kindly undertaken to superintend my estate during my military services in the former war between Great Britain and France, that if I should

Devise of part of the Mount Vernon estate.

. Washington's Will.

I should fall therein, Mount Vernon, then less extensive in dominion than at present, should become his property), I give and bequeath all that part thereof which is comprehended within the following limits, viz. beginning at the ford of Dogue Run, near my mill, and extending along the road, and bounded thereby, as it now goes, and ever has gone since my recollection of it, to the ford of Little Hunting-Creek, at the Gum-Spring, until it comes to a knowl opposite to an old road which formerly passed through the lower field of Muddyhole-Farm, at which, on the north side of the said road, are three red or Spanish oaks, marked as a corner, and a stone placed; thence by a line of trees to be marked rectangular to the back line or outer boundary of the tract between Thompson Mason and myself; thence with that line easterly (now double ditching with a post and rail fence thereon) to the run of Little Hunting-Creek; thence with that run, which is the boundary between the lands of the late Humphrey Peake and me, to the tidewater of the said creek; thence by that water to Potomac River; thence with the river to the mouth of Dogue-Creek; and thence with the said Dogue-Creek to the place of beginning at the aforesaid ford, containing upwards of four thousand acres, be the same more or less, together with the mansion-house, and all other buildings and improvements thereon.

evise of ittle unting reek state.

2d. In consideration of the consanguinity between them and my wife, being as nearly related

to her as to myself, as on account of the affection I had for, and the obligation I was under to their father, when living, who, from his youth, had attached himself to my person, and followed my fortunes through the vicissitudes of the late revolution, afterwards devoting his time to the superintendence of my private concerns for many years, whilst my public employments rendered it impracticable to do it myself, thereby affording me essential services, and always performing them in a manner the most filial and respectful; for these reasons, I say, I give and bequeath to George Fayette Washington, and Lawrence Augustine Washington, and their heirs, my estate east of little Hunting-Creek, lying on the river Potomac, including the farm of three hundred and sixty acres leased to Tobias Lear, as noticed before, and containing in the whole, by deed, two thousand and twenty acres, be it more or less; which said estate it is my will and desire should be equitably and advantageously divided between them, according to quantity, quality, and other circumstances, when the youngest shall arrive at the age of twenty-one years, by three judicious and disinterested men; one to be chosen by each of the brothers, and the third by these two. In the mean time, if the termination of my wife's interest therein should have ceased, the profits arising therefrom are to be applied for their joint uses and benefit.

Mr. Washington's Will.

3d. And whereas it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased,

Devise of the residue of Mount Vernon estate.

r. Washington's Will.

ceased, to consider the grandchildren of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two whom we have raised from their earliest infancy, namely, Eleanor Park Custis, and George Washington Park Custis: And whereas the former of these hath lately intermarried with Lawrence Lewis, a son of my deceased sister, Betty Lewis, by which union the inducement to provide for them has been increased: wherefore I give and bequeath to the said Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor Park Lewis, his wife, and their heirs, the residue of my Mount Vernon estate not already devised to my nephew Bushrod Washington, comprehended within the following description, viz. All the lands north of the road leading from the ford of Dogue-Run to the Gum-Spring, and described in the devise of the other part of the tract to Bushrod Washington, until it comes to the stone and three red or Spanish oaks on the knowl; thence with the rectangular line to the back line (between Mr. Mason and me); thence with that line westerly along the new double ditch to Dogue-Run, by the tumbling dam of my mill; thence with the said run to the ford aforementioned; to which I add all the land I possess west of the said Dogue-Run and Dogue-Creek, bounded easterly and southerly thereby; together with the mill, distillery, and all other houses and improvements on the premises, making together about two thousand acres, be it more or less.

4th. Actuated

Mr. Washington's Will.

4th. Actuated by the principle already mentioned, I give and bequeath to George Washington Park Custis, the grandson of my wife, and my ward, and to his heirs, the tract I hold on Four-Mile Run, in the vicinity of Alexandria, containing one thousand two hundred acres, more or less, and my entire square, number twenty-one, in the city of Washington.

Bequests to Mrs. Washington's grandson;

5th. All the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, not disposed of in manner aforesaid, in whatsoever consisting, wheresoever lying, and whensoever found, a schedule of which, as far as is recollected, with a reasonable estimate of its value, is hereunto annexed, I desire may be sold by my executors at such times, in such manner, and on such credits (if an equal, valid, and satisfactory distribution of the specific property cannot be made without), as in their judgement shall be most conducive to the interest of the parties concerned, and the monies arising therefrom to be divided into twenty-three equal parts, and applied as follows, viz. To William Augustine Washington, Elizabeth Spotwood, Jane Thornton, and the heirs of Ann Ashton, son and daughters of my deceased brother Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath four parts, that is, one part to each of them; to Fielding Lewis, George Lewis, Robert Lewis, Howell Lewis, and Betty Carter, sons and daughter of my deceased sister Betty Lewis, I give and bequeath five other parts, one to each of them; to George Steptoe Washington, Lawrence Augustine Washington,

and to his own nephews and nieces.

Gr. Washington's Will.

ington, Harriot Parks, and the heirs of Thornton Washington, sons and daughters of my deceased brother, Samuel Washington, I give and bequeath the other four parts, one part to each of them; to Corbin Washington, and the heirs of Jane Washington, son and daughter of my deceased brother John Augustine Washington, I give and bequeath two parts, one part to each of them. To Samuel Washington, Frances Ball, and Mildred Hammond, son and daughters of my brother Charles Washington, I give and bequeath three parts, one part to each of them; and to George Fayette Washington, Charles Augustine Washington, and Maria Washington, sons and daughter of my deceased nephew George Augustine Washington, I give one other part, that is, to each a third of that part. To Elizabeth Park Law, Martha Park Peter, and Eleanor Park Lewis, I give and bequeath three other parts, that is, a part to each of them; and to my nephew, Bushrod Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, and to my Ward, the grandson of my wife, I give and bequeath one other part, that is, a third thereof to each of them. And if it should so happen that any of the persons, whose names are here enumerated, (unknown to me) should now be dead, or should die before me, that in either of these cases, the heirs of such deceased persons shall, notwithstanding, derive all the benefits of the bequest, in the same manner as if he or she was actually living at the time. And by way of advice, I recommend it to my executors, not

Mr. Washington's Will.

not to be precipitate in disposing of the landed property therein directed to be sold, if, from temporary causes, the sale thereof should be dull, experience having fully evinced, that the price of land (especially above the falls of the rivers, and on the western waters) has been progressively rising, and cannot be long checked in its increasing value. And I particularly recommend it to such of the legatees (under the clause of my will) as can make it convenient, to take each a share of my stock in the Potomac company, in preference to the amount of what it might sell for, being thoroughly convinced myself, that no uses to which the money can be applied, will be so productive as the tolls arising from this navigation when in full operation, and this, from the nature of things, it must be ere long, and more especially if that of the Shenandoah is added thereto.

Orders a new cemetery to be erected.

The family vault at Mount Vernon requiring repairs, and being improperly situated besides, I desire that a new one of brick, upon a larger scale, may be built at the foot of what is commonly called the Vineyard Inclosure, on the ground which is marked out; in which my remains, with those of my deceased relations (now in the old vault), and such others of my family as may chuse to be entombed there, may be deposited. And it is my express desire that my corpse may be interred in a private manner, without parade or funeral oration.

Desires to be privately interred.

Appoints executors.

Lastly, I constitute and appoint my dearly beloved wife, Martha Washington, my nephews,

Mr. Washington's Will.

William Augustine Washington, Bushrod Washington, George Steptoe Washington, Samuel Washington, and Lawrence Lewis, and my ward, George Washington Park Custis (when he shall have arrived at the age of twenty-one years), executrix and executors of this will and testament.

In witness of all and each of the things herein contained, I have set my hand and seal, this ninth day of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety ——*, and of the independence of the United States the twenty-fourth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.
(Seal)

* It appears the testator omitted the word nine.

ERRATA.

Page 24. line 13. *for* Mrs. Curtis *read* Custis.
—— 66. —— 15. *for* Mislin *read* Miflin.

INDEX.

ADAMS, Mr. John, mention of, p. 328.—Succeeds to the presidency, 392.—Writes to Mr. Washington, 396.—Negociates with Buonaparte, 403.—His answer to the address of the senate, condoling with him on the death of Washington, 410.

Address and petition to Congress, of the officers of the army of the United States, p. 198.

—— (anonymous) to the officers of the army, p. 204.

Adet, M. arrives as minister from the French republic, p. 351.

Alexandria; Mr. Washington makes a bequest for the support of a free school there, p. 433.

AMERICA; controversy between her and the mother country touched on, p. 27.—The strength of the forces entrusted to Washington at the commencement of the war, 32.—Congress deputes Mr. *Lynch*, Dr. *Franklin*, and Mr. *Harrison*, to confer with Washington on the means of supporting the army, 34.—Their plan attended with innumerable obstructions, ib.—Reinforcements are at length obtained, 39.—Congress sends a vote of thanks to Washington on the evacuation of Boston by the British, 42.—Increase of its forces, 46.—Experience a defeat at Long island, 50.—The army dispirited, 51.—A war of posts determined on, 54.—The troops fly without waiting the approach of the enemy, 55.—Their gallantry at King's bridge, 58.—Driven from Jersey, 61.—The flower of the army made prisoners on the reduction of fort Washington, 63.—Congress removes from Philadelphia to Baltimore, 65.—Pardon offered to all Americans who would relinquish the British service, 78.—The people entertain a high opinion of the army, 84.—Congress votes its thanks to the general and the troops after the battle of Germantown, 92.—Sufferings of the army, 97.—Congress again deputes a committee to concert with general Washington, 106.—Adopts the measures of reform proposed for bettering the condition of the forces, 109.—Destitute

condition of the troops in the camp at Valley Forge, ib.—Congress votes its thanks to general Washington on his gaining the battle of Monmouth, 118.—Discontent of the people at the conduct of D'Estaing, 121.—Projected expedition against Canada given up, 125.—Congress relaxes in warlike preparations, and torpor of the public mind, 126.—Discontents in the Jersey line, 127.—Destitute condition of the officers of the army, 134.—Depreciation of the paper money, and other national evils, 135.—The commander in chief has no alternative, but to support his troops by force, or disband them, 136.—The whole southern army surrenders, 147.—Distress of the northern forces, ib.—Congress without the means of assisting them, 150.—A disposition to mutiny indicated, ib.—A part of the army revolts, 164.—Exhausted state of the resources of the country, 178.—Have recourse for help to France, ib.—Assisted with men and money, 180.—Success of the united armies at Yorktown, 190—Followed by the thanks of congress, and by the triumph of the people, 191, 192.—The army universally discontented, 197.—The officers present a petition to congress, 198.—Intelligence of peace received, and general joy of the army, 200.—The discontents of the officers increased by an inflammatory anonymous address, 204.—Its effects counteracted by general Washington, 207.—Congress decides on the claims of the army, 224.—Mode of reducing the troops, ib.—A small portion of the new levies mutiny, and, marching from Lancaster to Philadelphia, commit open outrage, 225.—A day fixed for the disbanding of the troops, 247.—Address of the president of congress on receiving back the commission of general Washington; with the general's reply, 258.—Gloomy prospect of the states for the first five or six years subsequent to the peace, 279.—A new constitution formed, 290—And a president chosen, 298.—State of the country at this period, 315.—War with the Indians, 321.—State of its foreign relations, 323.—Division among its senators, 342.—The people take an enthusiastic interest in the French cause, 344. 348.—The French republic sends away their ambassador, and seizes American vessels, 354.—The people take leave of their old president, and elect a new one, 398.—A new army ordered to repel a threatened invasion by the French,

French, 395.—Accommodation of the dispute with France, 403.—Proceedings of the government on learning the death of Washington, 405.—Unfeigned grief of the nation, 414.
Armstrong, general, mention of, pp. 66. 89.

Barras, mons. de, commands the French squadron at New Port, p. 181.
Blair, Mr. John, appointed an associate judge, p. 319.
Boston, blockaded by the Americans, p. 37.—Evacuated by the British, 41.
Braddock, general, arrives at the head of two British regiments, p. 9.—Invites colonel Washington to his aid, ib.—Engages the French and Indians, and has three horses shot from under him, 13.—His death, ib.
Brandywine, battle of, p. 84.
Buchan, earl of, mention of in Washington's will, p. 441.
Burgoyne; intelligence of his surrendering arrives, p. 94.

Campaign of 1775, p. 27.—Of 1776, p. 43.—Of 1777, p. 75.—Of 1778, p. 106.—Of 1779, p. 126.—Of 1780, p. 144.—Of 1781, p. 164.
CARLETON, sir Guy, succeeds Clinton as commander in chief of the forces of Great Britain, p. 196.—Announces the probability of a speedy peace, ib.
Castries, the marquis de, mention of, p. 180.
Charleston, surrenders to the British, p. 145.—Its enthusiastic notice of the French ambassador, 344.
Chastelleux, chevalier de, assists in forming the plan of operations, p. 182.
Choisy, general de, invests a part of the British force, p. 188.
Cincinnati, society of the, p. 278.
Clair, St. general, sent against the Indians, p. 321.
CLINTON, sir Henry, succeeds general Howe in the command of the British army, p. 111.
Columbia; Washington makes a bequest for endowing a university within its limits, p. 436.
Commission of general Washington, p. 260.
Connecticut laid waste by the British, p. 138.
Cornwallis, lord, surrenders to the confederated forces, p. 190.
Craik, Dr. a legatee named in Washington's will, p. 442.
Cushing, Mr. William, made an associate judge, p. 319.
Custis, Mrs. marries Mr. Washington, p. 24.

D'Estaing, count, arrives with a fleet from France, p. 119.—Puts to sea to engage with the British, ib.—Refuses to assist in reducing Rhode island, 120.
Dickinson, general, mention of, p. 112.
Digby, admiral, arrives from Europe, p. 187.
Dinwiddie, Mr. dispatches Washington to the Ohio, p. 4.
Duche, the rev. Jacob, addresses a letter to general Washington, p. 93.

Fairfax, Bryan lord, named a legatee in Washington's will, p. 442.
Fairfield destroyed by the British, p. 138.
Fauchet, M. succeeds Genet as ambassador from the French republic, p. 351.
Fayette, marquis de la, has a command in the American army, p. 114.—Is devoted to the American cause, 121.—Letter of Washington to, 296.—A legatee in Washington's will, 442.
Fernay, chevalier de, arrives with a French fleet, p. 158.
Forbes, general, commands in the middle and southern counties, p. 19.
Forts—their erection recommended, p. 18.—Duquesne, afterwards named Pitt, evacuated by the French, 21.—Washington taken by storm, 59.—Lee evacuated, 60.
FRANCE, encroaches on the chartered limits of Virginia, p. 4.—Horrid depredations of her troops in conjunction with the Indians, 15.—Enters into a treaty with the United States, 110.—Sends ships and troops to co-operate with the American army, 119. 158. 181.—Grants the Americans a subsidy, 180.—Its minister (under the republic) projects an expedition against New Orleans, 323—Which is frustrated, 327.—Sends a minister plenipotentiary to America, 344—Whose conduct causes him to be recalled, 351.—The directory prefers various complaints against the United States, and at length orders general Pinckney to quit Paris, 354.—Makes reprisals of American vessels, 355—And threatens an invasion of the country, 395—On the accession of Buonaparte, terms of adjustment are offered, 403.
Franklin, Dr. mention of, pp. 34. 125.
Fry, Mr. appointed colonel of the Virginia forces, p. 6.—Dies, 7.
Furman, general, mention of, p. 89.

Gardoqui, M. the Spanish minister, inflexible with regard to the navigation of the Mississippi, p. 324.
Gates, general, commands the northern army, p. 99.
Genet, mons. mention of, p. 325.—Arrives at Charleston, and his proceedings there, 344.—His reception in other parts, 345.—His conduct disapproved of by the federal government, 346.—Threatens to appeal to the people, 350.—His recall, 351.
Germantown, battle of, p. 88.—Evacuated by the British, 93.
Grant, general, is engaged in the battle of Germantown, p. 91.
Grasse, count de, mention of, p. 181.
GREAT BRITAIN; controversy between her and her colonies touched on, p. 27.—Strength of the royal army at Boston, 37.—Great increase of her forces, 43.—Makes an attempt for effecting a reunion between her and her colonies, 44.—Her loss in the defeat of lord Cornwallis, 191.—Evinces a pacific disposition, which eventually brings about a peace, 196.—Sends a public minister, 330—And enters into a treaty with the United States, 332.—Complains of the conduct of the French ambassador at Charleston, 346.
Greaves, admiral, arrives at New York with a British fleet, p. 160.
Greene, general, commands a column in the battle of Germantown, p. 90.
Grey, general, mention of, p. 90.
Griffin, Mr. one of three deputies sent to treat with the Indians, p. 319.

Hamilton, colonel, letter of Washington to, p. 292.—Receives an appointment under government, 318.
Harmar, general, sent against the Indians, p. 321.
Harrison, Mr. Robert, appointed an associate judge, p. 319.
Heath, general, commands the northern grand division of the army, p. 142.
HOWE, general, fails in his first attempt on the Americans, p. 40.—Declines a general engagement, 59.—Offers a reward to those who will desert the American cause, 78.—Resigns the command of the British army, 111.

Howe, admiral, with a naval force, co-operates with his brother, p. 44.
Howe, the American general, mention of, pp. 152. 167, &c.
Humphries, col. sent to treat with the Indians, p. 319.

Indians; their mode of fighting, p. 11.—Their cruelties, 15. 22.—Their military strength, 317.—Fruitless attempt to execute a treaty with them, 319.—Defeat the Americans, 321.—Subdued, and furnished with implements and instructions for agriculture, ib.
Jay, Mr. Washington's letter to him, on the federal system, p. 282.—Made chief justice, 319.—Nominated envoy extraordinary to the court of London, 332.
Jefferson, Mr. his appointment to a place under government, p. 318.
Jumonville, mons. his death, p. 7.

Kentucky, discontent of its inhabitants, p. 325.—They demand the use of the Mississippi, 326.
King's bridge, successful skirmish at, p. 57.
Knyphausen, lieutenant-general, mention of, pp. 85. 151.
Knowlton, colonel, falls gallantly, p. 58.
Knox, general, mention of, p. 181.—Letters of Washington to, 299. 334. 390.—His re-appointment to an official situation under government, 319.

Laurens, lieut. col. sent as envoy extraordinary to the court of Versailles, p. 178.
Lee, general, takes the command of part of the forces destined to defend New York, p. 44.—Disobeys the orders of Washington, and is taken prisoner, 64.—Having been exchanged, is appointed to a new command, 114.—Misunderstanding between him and the commander in chief, 115.—Articles of charge exhibited against him, 117.—Sentence of the court-martial, 118.
—— colonel Henry, letter of Washington to, p. 291.
—— major, surprises the British garrison of Paulus Hook, p. 141.
Leitch, major, his death, p. 58.
Letters, spurious, a volume of attributed to Washington, p. 391.
Liberty Hall academy; Washington's bequest to, p. 437.

Lincoln, general, mention of, pp. 141. 182.—Letter of Washington to, 294.—Sent with others to treat with the Indians, 319.
Livingston, chancellor, administers the oath of office to president Washington, p. 307.
Long island taken by the British, p. 48.

Magaw, colonel, surrenders fort Washington, p. 59.
Mc Gillvray, an Indian chief, mention of, p. 319.
Mc Henry, Mr. repairs to Mount Vernon with a new appointment for Washington, p. 399.
Marshall, Mr. his speech on the death of Washington in the house of representatives, p. 405.
Massachusetts; a committee of its congress conducts Washington to the army, p. 31.—His answer to the address of that colony, ib.—Again compliment him on the evacuation of Boston by the British, 42.—Commotions in, 285.
Mathews, colonel, routs a party of the British, p. 90.—Taken prisoner, ib.
Maxwell, general, mention of, pp. 83. 112. 127.
Mifflin, president of congress at the period of Washington's resigning up his commission, p. 258.
Miflin, general, sent to rouse the Pennsylvanians. p. 66.
Mississippi; its navigation relinquished by the United States, p. 324.—Again obtained, 327.
Monmouth, battle of, p. 114.
Morgan, colonel, mention of, p. 97.
Morris, Mr. G. conducts a negociation with the court of St. James's, p. 329.—Afterwards minister of the United States at Paris, 351.
Morristown affords a retreat to the army after the campaign of 1776, p. 75.
Moultrie, Wm. governor, his warm reception of the French ambassador, p. 344.
Mount Vernon; Washington succeeds to, on the death of his brother Lawrence, p. 24.
Musgrove, lieut. colonel, engaged in the battle of Germantown, p. 90.

Nelson, general, mention of, p. 187.
New London laid waste by the British, p. 138.
New Jersey, taken possession of by the British, p. 61.—Its legislature threatened with the resignation of the officers composing the Jersey line, 127.—Makes provision for its troops, 134.—A memorial presented by

by its officers, urging a speedy remedy of the wants of the troops to prevent a dissolution of the whole line, 149.—The men mutiny, 167.

New York; address of the provincial congress to general Washington, p. 30.—The general's reply, ib.—Being threatened by the British, is occupied by the whole American force, 44.—Evacuated, 57.—Taken possession of by the enemy, ib.—Invested by the confederates, 182.—Evacuated by the British, 255.—General Washington makes his public entry into it, ib.—Its reception of Washington, on his being chosen president, 306.

North Carolina refuses to accept the constitution, 316.

Norwalk destroyed by the British, p. 138.

Oath of the president of the United States on being sworn into office, p. 306.

Ohio lands, controversy about, p. 4.

Patterson, adjutant-general, sent by general Howe with a letter to Washington, p. 45.

Paulus Hook; the British surprised there, p. 141.

Pennsylvania; the defection of its militia, p. 64.—Its legislature presents a remonstrance to congress, on the general's going into winter quarters, 100.—Revolt of its line, 164.

Philadelphia; quitted by congress, p. 65.—Sends 1,500 men to the army, 66.—Washington marches through it, to awe the disaffected, 82.—It falls into the hands of the British after the battle of Brandywine, 85.—Evacuated by them, 111.—Transmits timely pecuniary relief to the army, 155.—Its splendid reception of the newly chosen president, 304.

Pinckney, major, sent envoy extraordinary to the court of Madrid, p. 327.—Nominated minister plenipotentiary to the court of Great Britain, 330.

——— general, appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French republic, p. 354.—Ordered to quit Paris, 355.

Poor, general, mention of, pp. 116, 117.

Portail, general du, assists in forming the plan of operations, p. 181.

Princeton, battle of, p. 72.

Putnam, general, superintends the erection of lines of defence from the Schuylkill to the Delaware, p. 62.

Rahl, colonel, his death, p. 68.
Ramsay, Dennis, mayor of Alexandria, his congratulatory address to the new president, p. 300.
Randolph, Mr. Edm. appointed attorney-general, p. 319.
Reid, col. dispatched to the governor of Jersey, p. 66.
Rhode island, state of, refuses the constitution, p. 316.
Rochambeau, count, heads the French forces, p. 158.
Rodney, admiral, arrives on the American coast, p. 162.
Rutledge, Mr. made an associate judge, p. 319.

Schuyler, general, commands at New York, p. 29.
Senate, address of the to the president, on the death of Washington, p. 409.
Slaves, emancipation of those belonging to general Washington, pp. 432. 439.—Their sale or transportation forbid, 433.
Smallwood, general, mention of, pp. 83. 89. 97.
Spain; her treaty with America, p. 327.
Staten island taken possession of by the British, p. 48.
State legislatures; their dilatoriness in furnishing the necessary supplies of troops, p. 76.—On another occasion reminded of it by the commander in chief, 106.
Stirling, lord, commands the American left wing at the battle of Monmouth, p. 116.
Stuart, Dr. D. a legatee of Washington, p. 442.
Sullivan, general, succeeds Lee in the command of a part of the army, p. 66.—Commences the siege of Rhode island, 120.—In conjunction with his officers protests against the conduct of D'Estaing, ib.—Commands an expedition against the six Indian nations, 139.—Invades Staten island, 144.

Thomas, general, occupies the heights of Dorchester, p. 39.
Thomson, Charles, announces to Washington his election to the presidency, p. 298.
Trenton, battle of, p. 68.
Tryon, major-general, the British governor of New York, makes conciliatory proposals to general Washington, p. 110.

Vermont claims to be an independent state, p. 174.
Villiers, mons. mention of, p. 8.

Virginia; raises a corps of 300 men to act against the French, p. 6.—Votes its thanks to Washington, for his defence of fort Necessity, 9.—Gallantry of its troops, 13.—Makes a fresh levy of men, 14.—Its legislature vests 150 shares of the navigation of the rivers Potowmac and James in the name of general Washington, 272.—Proposes the electing of deputies to a convention for revising the system of government, 285.

WASHINGTON:

Characteristic Index of his Life and Actions.

HIS EDUCATION,

AND PROVINCIAL MILITARY EXPLOITS.

His ancestry and birth, education, and youthful qualities, pp. 1 to 4.—Appointed one of the adjutants-general of Virginia; sent on a mission to the Ohio, ib.—His astonishingly quick return, and publication of his journal, 6.—Appointed second in command in a corps raised by the assembly of Virginia, ib.—Surprises the French encampment, 7.—His gallant defence of fort Necessity, 8.—Joins general Braddock (in 1755), 9.—Is seized with a fever, 11.—Has two horses shot under him, in an engagement with the French and Indians, 12.—Appointed commander in chief of the forces of Virginia, 14.—Resigns his commission, 23.

HIS MILITARY SERVICE.

1775:— chosen commander in chief of the forces of the twelve united colonies, p. 28.—His speech to congress on receiving his appointment, 29.—Joins the army at Cambridge, and publishes a declaration, 31.—His general orders of 26th October, 35.—Received at Boston with marks of great approbation, 41.

1776:— refuses a letter from general Howe, as not being properly addressed, p. 45.—His orders to the troops stationed in and about New York, 46.—Ability evinced in the evacuation of Long island, 51.—Represents to congress the want of spirit and subordination in his army, 52.—Seeks an honourable death, by exposing his person to the enemy, rather than witness the dastardly conduct of his troops, 56.—Extols the bravery of the troops at Kingsbridge 58. His embarrassing retreat through the Jerseys, 62.—Complains

Complains to congress of the defective constitution of their army, 65.—Gives his troops a singular example of bravery, 72.

1777:—Compelled in this campaign to extort military supplies at the point of the bayonet, p. 99.—Replies to a remonstrance presented to congress by the legislature of Pennsylvania, 100.—A cabal formed against him, ib.

1778:—Recommends to congress, a compensation, by half pay and a pensionary fund, for the support of the officers, p. 107.—Sooths the irritation between the French and American officers at Rhode island, 121.

1779:—Composes the discontents in the Jersey line, p. 128.—Renews his application to congress for an adequate provision for the officers of the army, 134.

1780:—Laments the want of vigour in the government for prosecuting the campaign, p. 153.—States his embarrassments to congress, 155.—Letter expressive of his chagrin at the termination of the campaign of this year, 162.

1781:—Commences his military journal in May, p. 169.—Reprimands the manager of his estate for furnishing the enemy with supplies, 173.—Settles the dispute between Vermont and New York, 175.—Fixes, in conjunction with the French commanders, on the plan of the campaign, 181.—Which produces the surrender of lord Cornwallis's army, and gives the closing scene to the war, 190.

1782:—Endeavours to rouse his country to spirited measures, p. 194.—On the prevalence of a belief in peace, he paints, in a letter to the secretary at war, the discontents of the army, and the consequences to be apprehended on its reduction, 197.—Appeases the irritation of the officers, in an eloquent address to them at a public meeting, 207.—Proof of his exalted patriotism, 219.—Persists in pleading the cause of the army, 220.—His indignation at the conduct of some mutineers, 226.—Recommends the formation of a militia during peace, 228.—Addresses a farewell letter to the governor of each state, ib.—His parting orders to the army, 247.—Takes leave of his officers, 255.—Singular exactness in accounting for the expenditure of the public money, 257.—Resigns his commission to congress, 258.

HIS PRIVATE LIFE.

Marries Mrs. Custis, in 1759, and retires to Mount Vernon, p. 24.—Serves in the house of burgesses of the colony of Virginia, and is a judge of the court of the county in which he resides, 25.—Uniformly opposes the principle of taxation, ib.—Retires to Mount Vernon, in 1783, at the conclusion of the war with the mother country, 265.—His sensations and pursuits on quitting public life, 267.—Declines accepting the sumptuous proffer of the Virginian legislature, 273.—Chosen president of the society of Cincinnati, 278.—Recommends a revisal of the federal system, 279.—Chosen a delegate, and afterwards president of the convention for revising the system of government, 287.—His retirement, after quitting the presidency in 1797, 390.

HIS PUBLIC LIFE AS A LEGISLATOR.

His election in 1789, to the presidency of the United States, p. 298.—Reply to one of many addresses presented to him, and the rejoicings made on his way to the seat of government, 302.—Arrives at New York, and ceremony of his installation, 306.—His speech to both houses, 308.—Proceeds to ameliorate the condition of the United States, 318.—Subdues, and commences a system for civilizing the Indians, 321, 322.—Attends to the foreign relations of the United States, 323.—Decrease of his popularity, in consequence of the treaty with Great Britain, 332.—Refuses papers to house of representatives, 335.—Causes the removal of the French ambassador, 350.—His answer to the speech of M. Adet, on presenting the colours of the French republic, 351.—Announces his intention to decline being re-elected president, in an address to the people, 356.—Takes leave of congress in 1797, 386.—Refutes the calumny implied by the publication of a volume of spurious letters, 391.—Review of his administration, 393.

RECIEVES A NEW COMMISSION.

Is entreated to head the army in 1779, on the threatened invasion by the French republic, 396.—Accepts the commission of lieutenant-general, 399.

HIS DEATH.—HIS WILL.

Account of his death in 1799, p. 404.—Resolutions of government in consequence, 412.

Writes his Will with his own hand;—manumits, at the demise of Mrs. Washington, all the slaves on his estate;—bequeaths in perpetuity, twenty shares in the Bank of Alexandria to a free school there—the shares proffered him by the Virginia legislature in James river and the Potowmac, to the establishing a university in Columbia, and to Liberty Hall Academy—various tokens of remembrance to Dr. Craik, Dr. D. Stuart, lord Fairfax, and general de la Fayette—his papers and library, with a part of Mount Vernon estate, to Bushrod Washington, esq.—Little Hunting-Creek estate to George Fayette and Lawrence Augustine Washington—the residue of Mount Vernon to Lawrence Lewis and Eleanor Park Lewis, &c. &c. &c.

HIS PERSON, AND GENERAL CHARACTER.

Description of his person, p. 416.—His passions; resembles Bacon, Locke, and Newton, rather than Voltaire, ib.—His steady pursuit of truth; promptness and accuracy of his decisions; knowledge of human nature; accustomed to ruminate unconsciously on public matters in his retirement, 417.—Personal courage and firmness; perseverance and moderation; his genius supplied every resource in times of difficulty; no great advantage ever obtained over him by an adversary superior in numbers and equipment; his firmness and prudence proved the salvation of his country, 418.—His qualities most felicitously blended; his integrity, ib.—A statesman without guile; a total stranger to duplicity, 419.—His learning, ib.—Powers of his mind; his virtues not eclipsed by predominant vices; punctual in all his engagements; temperate, liberal, and hospitable; a lover of order; methodical, 420.—The friend of morality and religion; a constant attendant on public worship, 421.—His management of the army, ib.—Gains the affection of his troops, and of the states, 422.—Of modest, unassuming manners; possesses great equanimity; never unseasonably elated or depressed; the honours and applause bestowed on him had no bad effect,

effect, ib.—His patriotism; rises superior to every difficulty, 423.—His political principles, ib.—His conduct in factious times, 424.—His policy, 425.—His transactions with the Indians, 426.—His firmness and promptitude displayed on being placed at the head of the government, 427.—Gives the rare example, of *voluntarily* retiring from the first station in the universe, 428.—Conclusion, ib.

WASHINGTON, Mrs. her answer to the resolution of congress relative to the removal of her late husband's remains, p. 414.—Bequest to her in Mr. Washington's will, 431.

——— Mrs. (the general's mother) regrets the part taken by her son in the contest between the colonies and Great Britain, p. 2.

——— Lawrence, Mr. mention of his death, p. 24.

——— Bushrod, (nephew of the general) a principal legatee, and one of the executors of his uncle's will, p. 443.

———, captain, wounded, p. 68.

Wayne, general, mention of, pp. 83. 114. 116.—Reduces Stoney Point, 140.—His attempt to quell a mutiny, 164.—Subdues the Indians, 321.—Has a new command on the Ohio, 323.

Willet, colonel, sent into the Creek country, p. 320.

Wilson, Mr. James, appointed an associate judge, p. 319.

Woodford, general, engaged in the battle of Monmouth, p. 116.

York island evacuated, p. 55.

Yorktown invested, p. 186.—Surrenders, 190.

FINIS.

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields.